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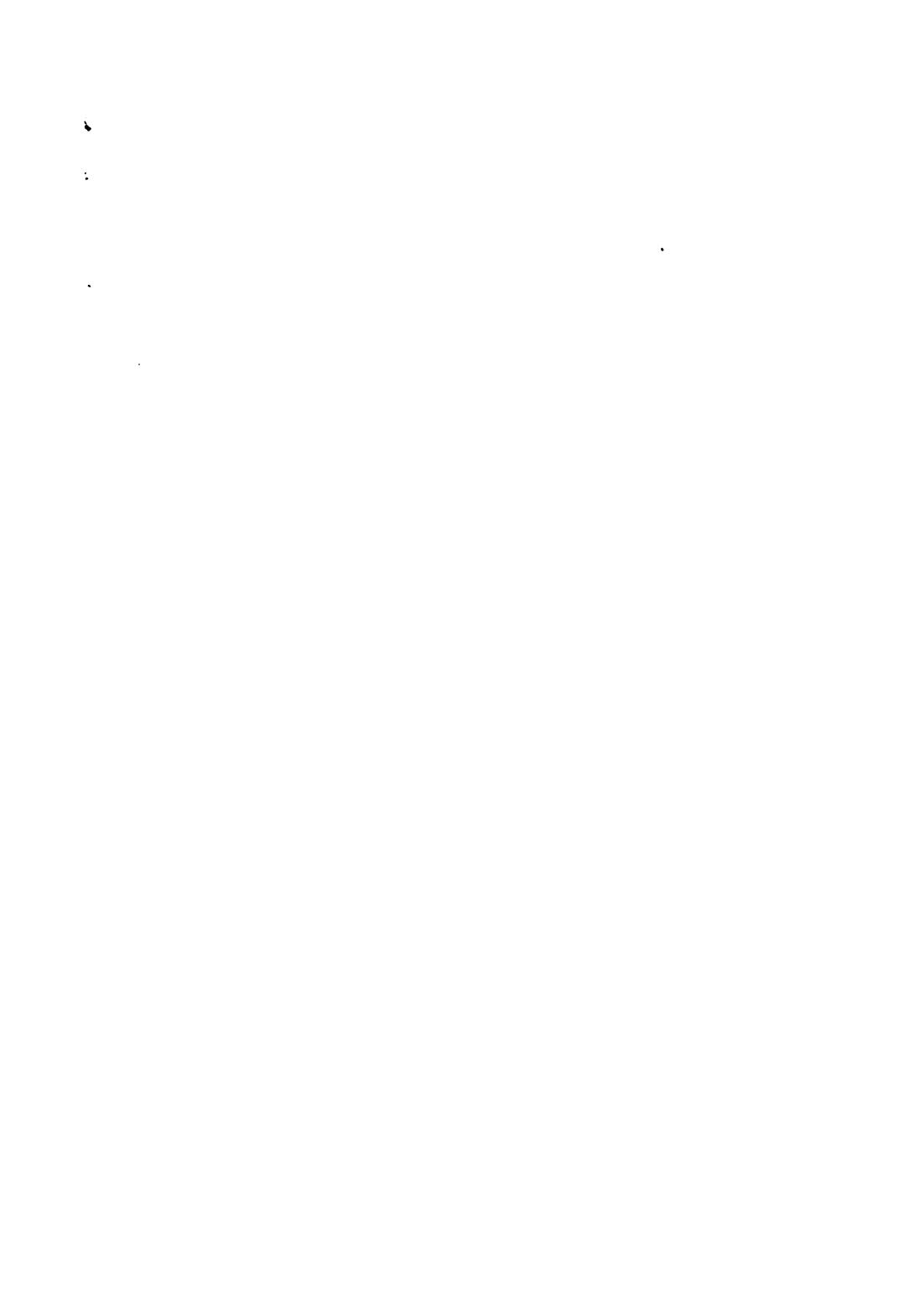
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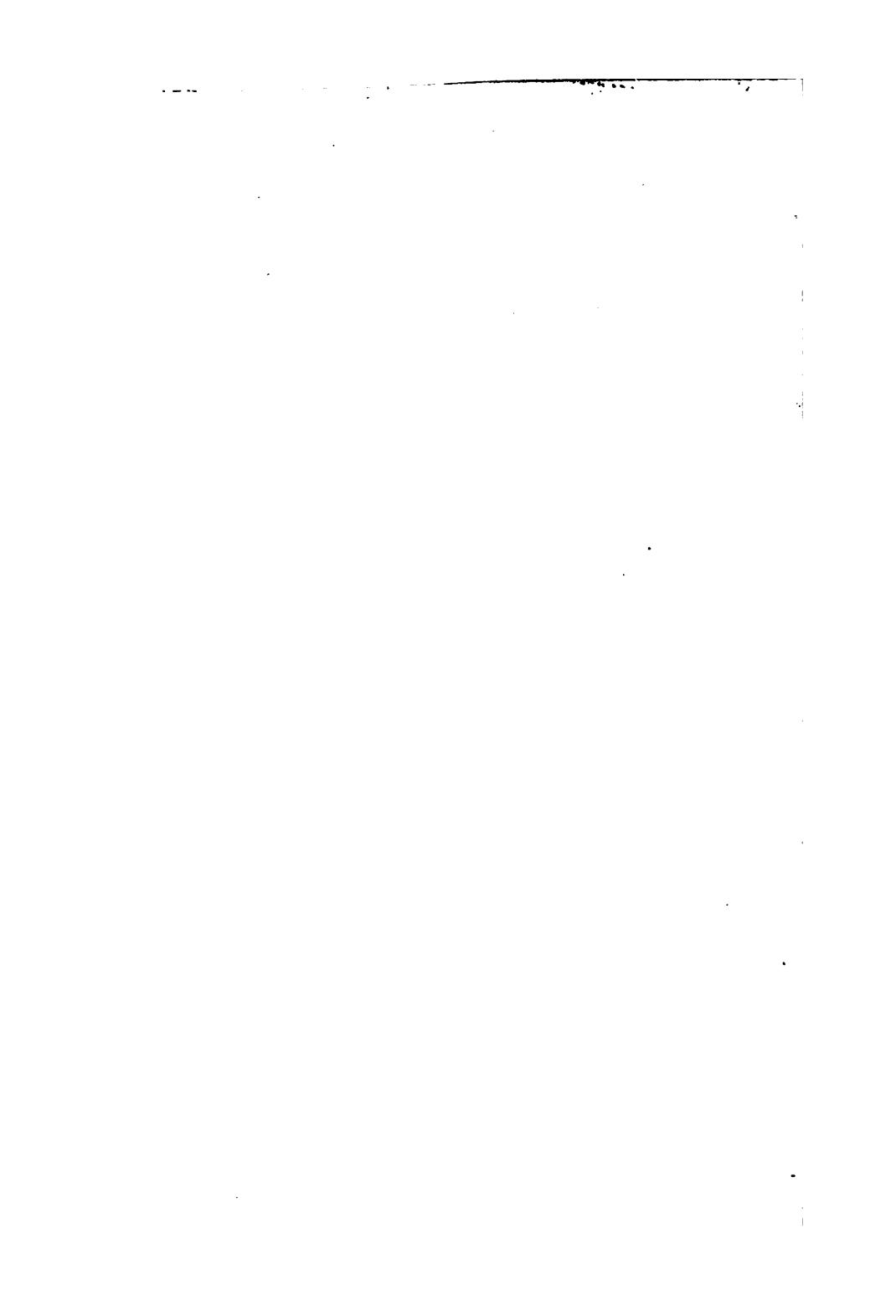






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SELECTIONS

FROM

XENOPHON AND HERODOTUS.

With Notes

ADAPTED TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION OF
GOODWIN'S GREEK GRAMMAR (1877),

AND COPPERPLATE MAPS.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, PH.D., LL.D.,
ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE,

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BOSTON, U.S.A.:
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Dec. 24, 1814

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Prof. W. W. Goodwin

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A

PREFACE.

THIS volume of Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus professes to contain a fair equivalent in amount for the extracts from Xenophon, Plato, Herodotus, and Thucydides which are included in Goodwin's Greek Reader. It is intended for the use of those who, from want of time or for any other reason, are obliged to confine their reading in Greek prose, before entering college, to two authors. The Editors, however, cannot refrain from recording their conviction, that all who are able and willing to study the Reader, or some other compilation containing as great variety of matter and style, should by all means do so. Two additional books of the Anabasis are surely a poor substitute, in point of quality, for Xenophon's sketch of the character of Socrates, Plato's graphic account of the last hours of his great master, Thucydides's narrative of the campaign at Pylus, and Xenophon's of the battle of Mantinea.

The first four books of the Anabasis, which are here given entire, carry the narrative of the retreat of the Ten Thousand down to their arrival at Trapezus, after their perilous march from the neighborhood of Babylon. Then follows the greater part of the Second Book of the Hellenica, describing the capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander, the tragic end of the long Peloponnesian war in the destruction of the Piraeus and of the Long Walls of Athens—the pride of Themistocles and Pericles—to the insulting music of flutes, the odious rule of the Thirty Tyrants, with the expulsion of the oligarchy and

the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus and his band of exiled patriots from Phyle.

The selections from Herodotus are in four parts. The first contains the account of the invasion of Darius and the battle of Marathon. The three others contain the most important passages in the Seventh and Eighth books, forming a continuous account of the invasion of Xerxes,—the pomp of the Great King's preparation; the march of the mighty host from Asia to Greece, including bridging the Hellespont and cutting the canal through Athos; the preparations of the terrified Greeks; the wisdom of the Delphic oracle and the craft of Themistocles; the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis; and finally the ignominious retreat of Xerxes from Salamis to Asia. The campaign of Mardonius in the following year, with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, is omitted for want of space. In thus condensing two long books of Herodotus into so small a compass, great pains have been taken to avoid abrupt transitions; and often single sentences have been taken from a chapter to keep up the continuity of the narrative. It is hoped that the wonderful story of the campaign of Xerxes has thus been presented to the pupil in greater vividness and completeness than it could have been by detached extracts.

The notes on the first two books of the *Anabasis* have been prepared chiefly by Mr. White, those on the last two chiefly by Mr. Goodwin. Those on the *Hellenica* and *Herodotus* are taken, generally without change, from the notes in Goodwin's *Reader*, which were prepared for that work in 1871 with the help of Rev. Joseph H. Allen. The notes make no pretension to learning, and aim merely at aiding beginners in laying a solid foundation for future scholarship. The grammatical aid is given in great measure in the form of references, in which form alone it can be systematic. Young students need to be referred to more detailed statements of the general principles involved in the new constructions which they constantly meet in reading than can be given in a commentary; and frequent reference to the

grammar is the only sure means of fixing in the mind the important principles of syntax. It will be seen that the notes on the First Book of the *Anabasis*, which it is assumed will be used for giving a solid foundation in the general principles of Greek syntax, are especially copious; while those on the remainder of the work are written for pupils who are supposed to have mastered the rudiments. In the opinion of the Editors it is highly desirable to use as small a portion as possible of the classic literature as a *corpus vile* for the more minute dissection, and to enable pupils at the earliest possible moment to read Greek and Latin with an appreciative mind.

No notes can supply all the collateral information needed for the full understanding of an ancient historian. Constant reference should be made to a classical dictionary and to some Greek history. It may be too much to expect of school-boys in these days that they should read a history like Grote's; but all who wish to catch the true spirit of the history they are studying cannot be too strongly recommended to read Grote's graphic account of the Persian wars with Herodotus, his chapters on the Thirty Tyrants with Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and those on Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand Greeks with the *Anabasis*. Cox's little volume, "The Greeks and the Persians," is also an excellent companion to Herodotus. It cannot be doubted, moreover, that the time spent in reading these historical works would generally be more than saved by their aid as a commentary to the Greek text, while the increased interest which they would awaken might often change the study from a task to a pleasure.

It is of course impossible in notes like these to give special credit for every remark which is wholly or partly borrowed. The Editors must therefore express, once for all, their obligations to the long and familiar line of commentators on Xenophon and Herodotus, and last, not least, to Grote, from whose notes many valuable hints have been derived. The map of the march of the Ten Thousand Greeks in this volume is copied chiefly

from Kiepert's map in Rehdantz's *Anabasis* (1873); the smaller maps are generally reduced from larger ones in Kiepert's "Atlas von Hellas."

In the extracts from Xenophon, the chapters and sections are numbered as they are in recent editions. The selections from Herodotus are divided into new sections as they stand, and numbered accordingly; but the numbers of the original book and chapter with which the right-hand page of the present text ends are given at the top of the page.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April, 1877.

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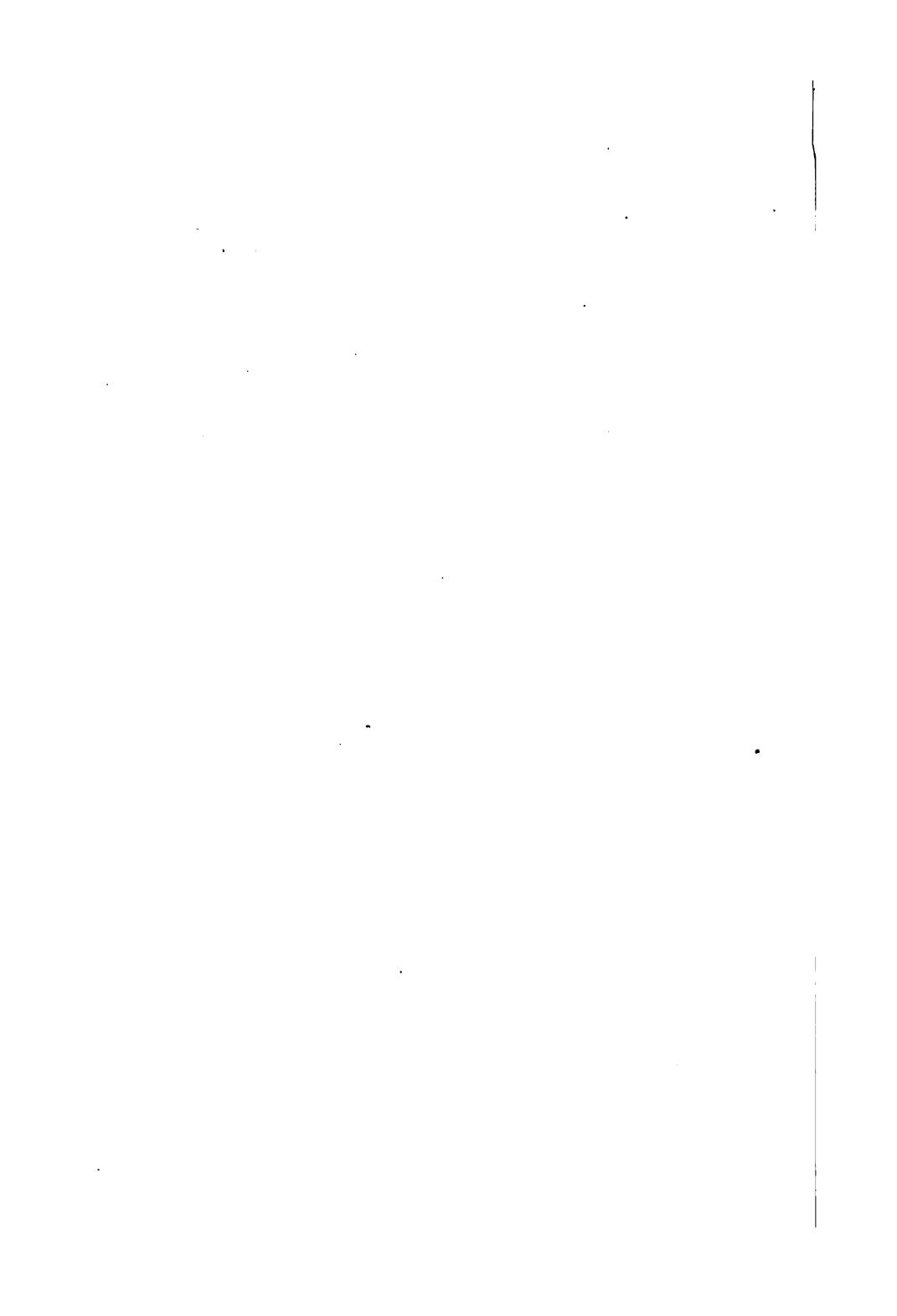
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ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ.

I. ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

BOOK FIRST.

Ι. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παιδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ σθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὰ παῖδες ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. **2.** οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὸν ἐτύγχανε· Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὄπλιτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἀρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ μήτηρ ἔξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. **4.** οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἦν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. **5.** ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατίθεις ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἕαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἴκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. **6.** τὴν δὲ Ἐλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζειν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτό-

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὥδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογήν. ὅπόστας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοὺς φρουράρχους ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἄρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου· 7. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἔξεβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μιλήτους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὐτῇ αὐτῇ ἀλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 8. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα τέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὃν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἡ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μῆτρα συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἥσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος ἀπέπεμπτε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. 9. ἀλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Δακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενούμενος ὁ Κύρος ἥγασθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὄρμώμενος τοὺς Θραξὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸν τρε-

φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. **10.** Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὃν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν, ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἀν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισθὸν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἀν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσηται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. **11.** Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίουν ξένον ὅντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὅντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων, καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἡδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιείτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν δύον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅπόσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. **2.** ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἂ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοις οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ

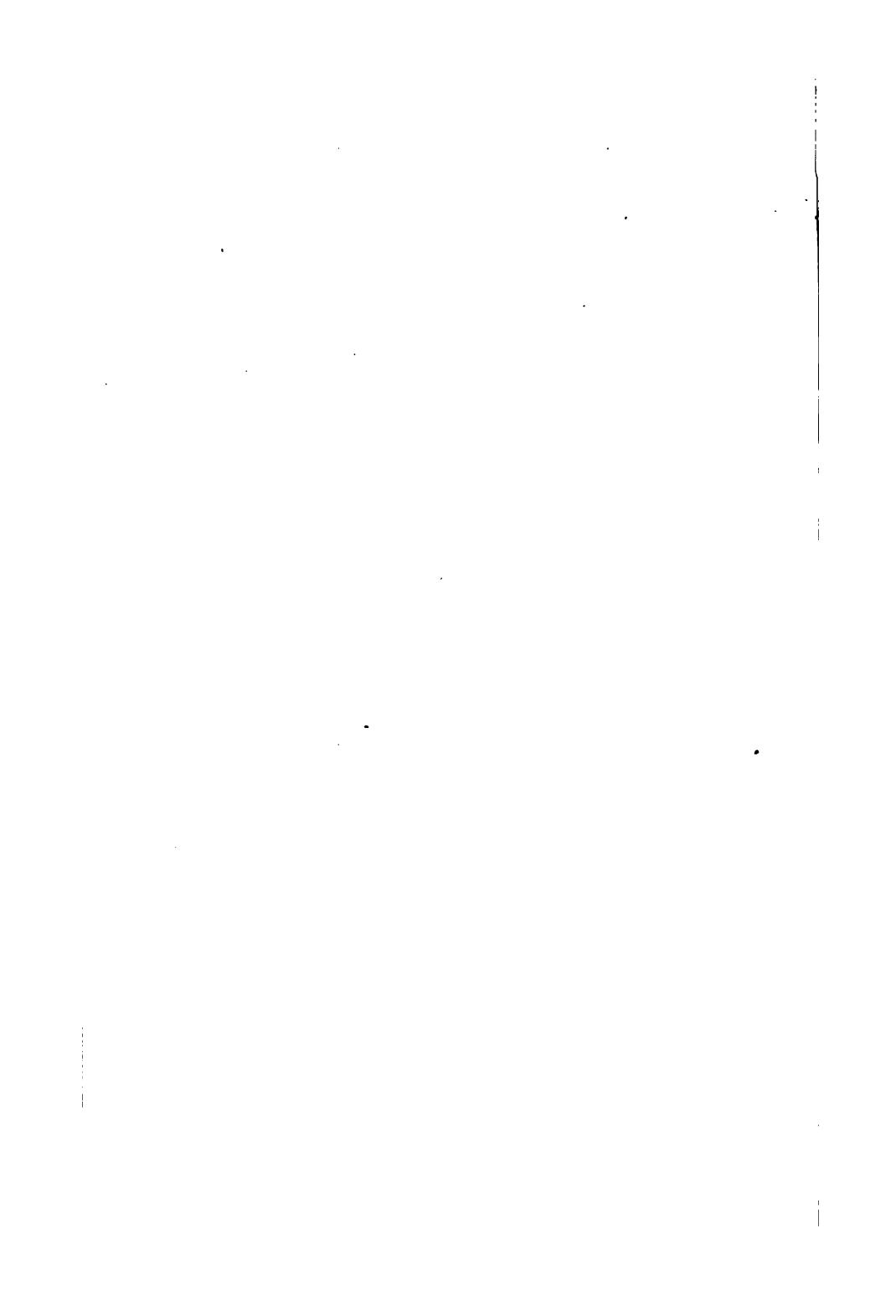
αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.
3. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὄπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων ὄπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὄπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὄπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγιρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὄπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. **4.** οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἱγησάμενος εἶναι ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέᾳ ἡ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἵππεις ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. **5.** καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἥκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλου, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὡρμάτῳ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἔζευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. **6.** τούτου διαβὰς ἔξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἔνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσᾶς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἥκει Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὄπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιάνας καὶ Ὁλυνθίους. **7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παραδεισος μέγιας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἀ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρέει ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρέει

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ρέν δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαιανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὐρός ἔστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά εἰ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαὶ· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἤτηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἡκεὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὄπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θράκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὄπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὄπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κύρος ἔξετασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὄπλῖται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελανει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Δύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἀθλα ἥσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσᾶι· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελανει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελανει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡφείλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ίόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήγουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα

μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεν-
νέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρου· καὶ ἐλέ-
γετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ
τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ
Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπευ-
δίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρου τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.
13. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν
οὔδον κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ'
ἡ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεύσαι οἷνῳ κεράσας αὐ-
τῆν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸὺς δύο παρασάγγας
δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν
ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου
ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι,
ἔξετασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς
εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν
δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος
καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώ-
ρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρώτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρή-
λαυνον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἵλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἴτα δὲ τοὺς
Ἑλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ'
ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ καὶ χιτῶνας
φοινικοὺς καὶ κυνηγίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας.
17. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς
φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἔρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα
καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι δλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον
τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ
ὅπλα ἐπήσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάττον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄντα ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἤλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἴδούσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἴδων. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. **20.** ἐντεῦθεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδὸν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν φ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρυνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ ἔτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβούλευεν αὐτῷ. **21.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρώντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὅδος ἀμαξιτὸς ὄρθια ἵσχυρώς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἴ τις ἐκώλυνεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάστην τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἥσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἥδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὄρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριτῆρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. **22.** Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὐ οἱ



ΧΕΝΟΡΗΦΟΝ.

I. ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

BOOK FIRST.

Ι. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γύγνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ σθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸ παῖδες ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. **2.** οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὄπλιτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἀρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενών. ἡ δὲ μῆτηρ ἔξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. **4.** οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μῆποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἔκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μῆτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. **5.** δοτις δ' ἀφικεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατίθεις ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἕαντῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἴκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. **6.** τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἥθροιζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτό-

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὡδε οὖν ἐποιεύτο τὴν συλλογήν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοὺς φρουράρχους ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τῷ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κύρου πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου· 〽. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ ἔξεβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὐτῇ αὐδὴ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 〽. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα τέμπων ἥξιον ἀδελφὸς ὃν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἡ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἥσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὃν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. 〽. ἀλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κύρος ἥγασθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὄρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκούνσι, καὶ ὡφέλει τοὺς "Ἑλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβύλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούνσαι. τοῦτο δὲ αὐδὴ οὔτω τρε-

φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. **10.** Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὃν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν, ὡς οὗτος περιγενόμενος ἀν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐξ μηνῶν μισθὸν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἀν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσηται. οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. **11.** Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον ξένους ὅντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ έαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὅντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρειν σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων, καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὕτοι.

Π. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἥδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τὸν οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς έαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ἡενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅπόσοι ἵκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. **2.** ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἂν ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἥδεως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γάρ

αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.
3. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὄπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων ὄπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὄπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὄπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγιρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὄπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. **4.** οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκουντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἱγησάμενος εἶναι ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἥ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἵππεις ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. **5.** καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλου, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εὔρηκα ὠρμάτῳ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὐρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἔξενυμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. **6.** τοῦτον διαβὰς ἔξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἔνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοστὰς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἥκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὄπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιάνας καὶ Ὁλυνθίους. **7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαιὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἀ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρέει ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρέει

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ρέι δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαιανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὐρός ἔστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά εἰ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαὶ· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἤττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὄπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὄπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὄπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κύρος ἔξετασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὄπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγώνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἀθλα ἥσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσᾶν· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ Κύρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἄγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρον πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὥφειλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἡ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ίόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήγουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα

μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεν-
νέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρου· καὶ ἐλέ-
γετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ
τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ
Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κιλικας καὶ Ἀσπεν-
δίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρου τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.
13. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν
όδον κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ'
ἡ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐ-
τῆν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸς δύο παρασάγγας
δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν
ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου
ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι,
ἔξετασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς
εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν
δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώ-
ρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρώτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρή-
λαυνον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἵλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς
Ἑλληνας, παρέλαυνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ'
ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ καὶ χιτῶνας
φοινικούς καὶ κυημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας.
17. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς
φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἐρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα
καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον
τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ
ὅπλα ἐπήσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάττου προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάχης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄντα ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἥλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἴδοντα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἴδων. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Δυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. **20.** ἐντεῦθεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδὸν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν τῷ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ ἔτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἵτια σάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. **21.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρώντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὁρθία ἵσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἥσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἥδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἴσω τῶν ὄρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἥκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. **22.** Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἰδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὐ οἱ

Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλὸν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδιπάν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὅρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

23. καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασίλεια τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρέει ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνυμα, εὔρος δύο πλεύθρων.

24. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἔξελιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη, πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς. **25.** Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὄρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαι ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλίκων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὄδοὺς εἴτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἥσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὄπλιται. **26.** οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἥκον, τήν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὄργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συεννεσιν πρὸς ἕαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὗτε πρότερον οὐδενί πω κρείττονι ἕαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὗτε τότε Κύρῳ ἴέναι ἥθελε, πρὶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἐπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε.

27. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συεννεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν, Κύρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἀ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμα, ἵππουν χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκεινά-

κην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάξεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

III. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατὶ ἡμέρας εἴ-
κοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἴέναι τοῦ πρόσω·
ὑπώπτευον γὰρ ἥδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἴέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρα-
τιῶτας ἐβιάζετο ἴέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προϊέναι. **2.** Κλέαρχος δὲ
τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δ’,
ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-
σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε
πολὺν χρόνον ἐστώς· οἱ δὲ ὄρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-
πων· εἶτα δὲ ἐλεξεῖ τοιάδε. **3.** Ἀνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ
θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.
ἔμοι γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πα-
τρίδος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς·
οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἔμοι ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
καθηδυπάθησα, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. **4.** καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος
ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ’ ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύ-
νων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἴνοικούντας "Ἐλληνας
τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευό-
μην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοίην αὐτὸν ἀνθ’ ὧν εὐ ἐπαθον
ὑπ’ ἐκείνου. **5.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι,
ἀνάγκη δή μοι ἡ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι
ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσάμενον μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἴέναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ
δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἰδα, αἰρήσομαι δ’ οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν
ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἀν δέη πείσομαι. καὶ οὕποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ
"Ἐλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς" Ἐλ-
ληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην. **6.** ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ

ύμεις ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔφομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἀν δέγη πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἀν οἴμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἀν ὡ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ἀν οὐκ ἀν ἴκανὸς εἶναι οἴμαι οὕτ' ἀν φίλον ὀφελῆσαι οὕτ' ἀν ἔχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ώς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἵόντος ὅπη ἀν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὗτῳ τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε. 7. ταῦτα εἰπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἵ τε αὐτοῦ ἔκεινου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Εενίους καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεύρχῳ. 8. Κύρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μεταπέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δὲ οὔναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρᾳ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἐλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἔκελενεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη οὔναι. 9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τούς θ' ἔαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. "Αιδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὕσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἔκεινον· οὕτε γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἔκεινον ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεί γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὕτε ἔκεινος ἔτι ὑμῖν μισθοδότης. 10. ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει οὐφ' ὑμῶν οἴδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτὸν, ἐπειτα καὶ δεδιώς μὴ λαβών με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὃν νομίζει οὐπ' ἐμοῦ ἤδικήσθαι. 11. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ὑμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἔως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν, εἴ τε ἡδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἀπιμεν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν-

άνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἴδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. **12.** ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος φίλος Ἰητός, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἔχθρὸς φίλος ἀν πολέμιος Ἰητός, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἢν πάντες ὅμοιώς ὁρῶμεν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὡρα λέγειν ὃ τι τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. **13.** ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέξοντες ἀ ἐγγύηνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οὐα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. **14.** εἰς δὲ δὴ εἰπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρου δστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὃν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὐγος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἴπε τοσοῦτον. **15.** Ός μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἄ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δὲν ἀν ἐλησθε πείσομαι ἡ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. **16.** μετὰ τούτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὐήθεις εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου φίλον λυμαῖνόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι

πιστεύσομεν δὸν ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; **17.** ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνούσην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἢ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβούμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ω̄ δοίη ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ὥγαγη ὅθεν οὐχ οἰόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλούμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπιὰν Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἐγώ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι. **18.** δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρου οἵτινες ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐάν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἡ παραπλησία οἴᾳπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήπτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων. **19.** ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται καὶ ἐπιποντέρα καὶ ἐπικινδυνοτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἡ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἡ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίσιμεν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι. **20.** ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἱ ἡρώτων Κῦρου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· καὶ μὲν ἡ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρήζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ φεύγη, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα. **21.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοὶ ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποφύια μὲν ἦν ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἔδόκει ἔπεσθαι. προσαιτοῦσι δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

IV. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμὸν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὑρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ εὑρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαΐδεκα εἰς Ἰσσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα. **2.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμεναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρις Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἥγετο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμῶς Αἴγυπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἱς ἐποιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. **3.** παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετύπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὄπλίτας, ὃν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὅρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνὴν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Αβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἑλληνες ἀποστάντες ἥλθον παρὰ Κύρου τετρακόσιοι ὄπλιται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα. **4.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἥσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλίκων φυλακὴ, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρέι τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὑρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσου τῶν τειχῶν ἥσαν στύδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεν δ' ἥσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦς τείχεις ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. **5.** ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὄπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἴσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰς φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις

πύλαις, ὅπερ ὡςτο ποιήσειν ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν,
ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίη-
σειν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κύρου ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας
ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπῆλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο,
τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς. 6. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ
Συρίας σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάργας πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον,
πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον
δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαῖ.
7. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς
στρατηγὸς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον
καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς
πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐ-
τῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν
Ἐλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἴᾳ Κύρος τὸν Κλέ-
αρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡσαν ἀφανεῖς, διῆλθε λόγος ὅτι διώ-
κοι αὐτοὺς Κύρος τριήρει· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὑχοντο ὡς δειλοὺς
ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' φόκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσοιντο.
8. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγὸν εἶπεν. Ἀπο-
λεοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι
ἐπιστάσθωσαν ὅτι οὗτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπῃ οὔχον-
ται· οὗτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν
τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς
διώξω, οὐδ' ἔρει οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἔως μὲν ἀν παρῆ τις χρῶ-
μαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβθὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς
κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἴωταν,
εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους.
καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι
φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπο-
λήψονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. 9. καὶ ὁ
μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν
πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ
τροφυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὅντα τὸ εὑρός πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἵχθυν μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἡσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομέναι. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασύγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ, οὐ τὸ εὑρός πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἡσαν τὰ Βελέσυνος βασίλεια τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὥραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἔξεκοψε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας πεντεκαΐδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὅντα τὸ εὑρός τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι φκεῦτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαιμων Θάφακος ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμψύμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἔπειθαι. 12. οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιώταις ἔχαλεπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτὸὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν οὔτε τοις μητρίαις χρήματα διδῷ, ὥσπερ τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ιόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κύρου. 13. ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκύστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς ἐπὴν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἥκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ μέχρι ἀν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη. Μένων δὲ, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται, πότερον ἔψουνται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα γωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. 14. "Ανδρες, εἴν μοι

πεισθῆτε, οὗτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὗτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; οὐν δεῖται Κύρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ύμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. 15. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἔπεσθαι, ύμεις δόξετε αἵτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ύμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κύρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπιμεν μὲν ἄπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ύμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλους οὐτινος ἀν δέησθε οἰδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου. 16. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κύρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἥσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἥσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἰπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὡς ἀνδρες, ἥδη ύμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ύμεις ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κύρου νομίζετε. 17. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες εὔχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἄπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 18. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἐλεγον ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὐτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεξῇ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἀ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προϊὼν κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσοντι. 19. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικινοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἥσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἶνου. ἐνταῦθα ἐμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεστίσαντο.

V. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὄμαλες ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀφιωθίου δὲ πληρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνήν ὑλης ἦ καλύμου, ἅπαντα ἥσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν. **2.** θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλεῖστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵππεις ἐνίστησαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θᾶττον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν υἱοῖς ἵπποι, ταῦτὸν ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεις θηρῷ φεύγοντες διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἑλαφείοις, ἀπαλάτερα δέ. **3.** στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἵππεων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεσπάτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν ἀρουσα ὥσπερ ἴστιφ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἄν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν. **4.** πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὔρος πλεύριαν. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρέετο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπειτίσαντο. **5.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαΐδεκα παρασάγγας ἐνευήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποξυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες ὄνοις ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγορύ-

ζούτες σίτον ἔξων. 6. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾶ ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἡ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σύγλων. ὁ δὲ σύγλος δύναται ἐπτὰ ὄβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἔχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίουντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. 7. ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἥλαυνεν, ὅπότε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἡ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δῆ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλὸν φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κύρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πύργητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. 8. ἐπειδὸν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὄργῃ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ρίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κάνδυς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἔκαστος ἑστηκὼς, ἵεντο ὥσπερ ἀν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλias ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν. εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θάττον ἡώς τις ἀν φέτο μετεώρους ἔξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. 9. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κύρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἔνεκα ἡ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν θάττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευοτέρῳ φιασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι φιασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἡ φιασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. 10. πέραν

δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἡγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες ὁδε. διφθέρας ἃς εἶχον σκεπάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἴτα συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἵνον τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτου μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλεῖστον. 11. ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἔχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἵσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. 12. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κύρος δὲ οὗπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι προσῆλαννε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις, ὡς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἵησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἥμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἴτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης. 13. ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὄπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θράκας καὶ τοὺς ἴππεας, ὃς ἤσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι Θράκες, ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλῆχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. 14. ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιὼν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὄπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων

ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. οὐ δ' ἔχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως λέγοις τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστωσθαι. 15. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπήει καὶ Κύρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παρούσι τῶν πιστῶν ἤκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. 16. Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες "Ἐλληνες, οὐκ ἔστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλους μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁράτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ήμῦν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὅντων. 17. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνη ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκανον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμῆσας καταλλαγεῖς δέ. 2. οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη ἵππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακάντας ἵππέας ἡ κατακάνοι ἀν ἐνεδρεύσας ἡ ζωντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσει τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὡφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. 3. ὁ δὲ Ὁρόντας, νομίσας ἐτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἵππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἦξοι ἔχων ἵππέας ὡς ἀν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεύσιν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνἡν δὲ ἐν τῇ

ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς φέτο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. 4. ἀναγονὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὁρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευεν ὄπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὄπλίτας. 5. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔξῆλθεν, ἔξηγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὁρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κύρου ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ἀδε. 6. Παρεκάλεσα ύμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὃ τι δίκαιον ἔστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὁρόντου τουτού. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐδώκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοὶ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτὸς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σύρδεσιν ἄκροπολιν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἐδῶκα, 7. μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὁ Ὁρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἡδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ οὗ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἡρώτα, Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη ὁ Ὁρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅπότ' αὖ ἔγνως τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἐδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει ὁ Ὁρόντας. 8. Τί δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁρόντα ὃ τι οὐδὲν

ἀδικηθεὶς, ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸν, Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἐφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἐτι οὖν ἀν γένουι τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ γενούμην, ὁ Κύρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. 9. πρὸς ταῦτα Κύρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ύμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὁ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδῶν ποιεύσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέῃ τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἴναι τοὺς ἐθελούντας φίλους τούτους εὐ ποιεῖν. 10. ταύτη δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἄπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· είτα δὲ ἔξῆγον αὐτὸν οὓς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οὕτε πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζώντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἶδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἔφανη.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κύρος ἔξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω οἵξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχούμενον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τὸν δεξιοῦ κέρως ἥγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔξέτασιν ἄμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἤκουοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον

Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἀν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιάδε. 3. Ὡς ἀνδρες Ἐλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἀνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡς κέκτησθε καὶ ἡς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὑδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἵστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἀν ἀνθ' ὅν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἀλλων πολλαπλασίων. 4. ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἀν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνασχησθε, τάλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ οἶους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπίεναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἴμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι. 5. ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν, ὁ Κῦρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνεῖ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος. ἀν δὲ εὐ γένηταί τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ εἰ μεμνήσοτε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἀν ἀποδούναι ὅσα ὑπισχνεῖ. 6. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος, Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὁ ἀνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρώα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐδὲ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἀνθρώποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. 7. ἦν δὲ ἡμέis νικήσωμεν, ὑμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκύστρῳ τῶν φίλων, ἀν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἵδε δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέ-

φανον ἐκάστῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω. **8.** οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἡσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγηγελλον. εἰσήσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἴ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, μέχιστας εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται ἐùν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιμπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. **9.** παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάπτεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὡδέ πως ἥρετο τὸν Κύρον. Οἵει γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὡς Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Διαιρείον καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς, οὐκ ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. **10.** ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀσπὶς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. **11.** τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἡσαν ἐξακισχύλοι ιππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἥρχεν· οὗτοι δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. **12.** τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἡσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἑκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκυντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντακοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. **13.** ταῦτα δὲ ἥγγελλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὑστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἥγγελλον. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἔνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· φέτο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα·

κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὁρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὑρος ὄργυιαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὄργυιαὶ τρεῖς. **15.** παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασύγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. ἔνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὑρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἵσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοιὰ πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγά· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἑκάστη παρασύγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς ἐίκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὑρος· **16.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεὶ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κύρος τε καὶ ἡ στρατὶ παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο εἴσω τῆς τάφρου. **17.** ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἔμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερὰ ἥσαν καὶ ἴππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. **18.** ἐνταῦθα Κύρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμέρων, Κύρος δ' εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι δέκα τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. **19.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. **20.** τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιείτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμάξῶν ἥγετο καὶ ὑποκυνγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἥδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλη-

σίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἥνικα Πατηγύας ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἴδρουντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἐλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. 2. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τύραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ "Ἐλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι· 3. Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδυν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἔκαστον. 4. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Ἐύφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἔχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτουν, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμου κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ. 5. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεis μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν πελταστικὸν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαΐῳ τε ὁ Κύρος ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. 6. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεis τούτου ὅσουν ἔξακόσιοι ὠπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. 7. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεis Ἐλληνικάς. 8. καὶ ἥδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὕπω καταφανεῖς ἤσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥνικα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγύγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιόρτος ὕσπερ νεφέλη λευκὴ, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὕσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγύγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἥστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ ταξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγύγνοντο. 9. καὶ ἤσαν ἵππεis μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐώνυμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων

ἀρχειν· ἔχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἔχόμενοι δὲ ὄπληται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Λιγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἔκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. 10. πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἄλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἴχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ή δὲ γυνώμη ἥν ως εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλώντα καὶ διακόψοντα. 11. ὁ μέντοι Κύρος εἰπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς "Ἑλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τούτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγὴ ἄλλα συγῇ ώς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσήσταν. 12. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ ἔρμηνεὶ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἡ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεὶ βασιλεὺς εἴη· καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται. 13. ὄρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλεάρχος τὸ μέσον στῦφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὅντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιήν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τὸ έαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἥν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλεάρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθείη ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. 14. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καίρῳ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὄμαλῶς προήνει, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεάτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. 15. ἴδων δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ζενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας ώς συναντῆσαι ἥρετο εἰς τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέ-

γειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ιερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλύ. **16.** ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἥκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἴοντος, καὶ ἥρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἥδη. καὶ διὰ ἔθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἥρετο ὁ τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο,

ZETΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ. **17.** ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἡ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὸ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιμάνιζόν τε οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἵέναι τοὺς πολεμίους. **18.** ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἔξεκύμανε τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἥρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἄμα ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες οἰώνπερ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίξουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοὺς ἵπποις. **19.** πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἔξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνοντιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγοντι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ "Ελληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἐπεσθαι. **20.** τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, διύσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὕσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο. **21.** Κύρος δ' ὄρῶν τοὺς "Ελληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἥδομενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἥδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἔξακοσίων ἵππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο ὁ τι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. καὶ γὰρ ἥδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. **22.** καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον

ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάφ εἶναι, ἦν δὲ ἡ ἴσχὺς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳθεν, καὶ εἰ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρήζουεν, ήμίσει ἀν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. 23. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐώνυμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲις αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν. 24. ἐνθα δὴ Κύρος δείσας μὴ ὅπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς ἔξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρεψε τοὺς ἔξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. 25. ὡς δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἔξακοσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὄρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεξοι καλούμενοι. 26. σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὧν καθορὰ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκεῖνον στῖφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἡνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὄρῳ, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παιέι κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἱατρὸς καὶ ἴασθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. 27. παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὅπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 28. Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. 29. καὶ οἱ μέν φασι βασιλέα κελεῦσαι τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ φέλια καὶ τάλλα ὕσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

IX. Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὔτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὁν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κύρου τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. **2.** πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ἔτι παῖς ὁν, ὅτ’ ἐπαδεύτετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. **3.** πάντες γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἄν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ’ οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἀκούσαι οὔτ’ ἴδειν ἔστι. **4.** θεῶνται δ’ οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούονται, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθὺς παῖδες ὅντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. **5.** ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πειθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. **6.** ἔπει τὸ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὃν καὶ τὰς ὡτειλὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθόσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. **7.** ἔπει δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οὖν καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦτο, εἴ τῷ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῷ συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῷ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. **8.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μεν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ’ οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἄν παρὰ τὰς

σπουδὰς παθεῖν. **9.** τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἑκούσαι Κύρον εἴλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ἥθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβούντο αὐτὸν. **10.** καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε προοῦτο, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιντο ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειν. **11.** φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ, εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτὸν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἔξεφερον ὡς εὔχοιτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῷ καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. **12.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνί γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήμata καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώμata προέσθαι. **13.** οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἴα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφεδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἵδεν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἐλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅποι τις ἥθελεν, ἔχοντι δὲ τι προχωρούη. **14.** τούς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἔώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἀρχοντας ἐποίει ἡς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· **15.** ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιούσθαι εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἴοιτο Κύρον αἰσθῆσθαι. **16.** εἴς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεύτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. **17.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε

πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἔνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνου ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. **18.** ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξειτι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἴσασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπῆρέται παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. **19.** εἰ δέ τινα ὄρῳ δεινὸν ὅντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἡς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἀν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ πλείᾳ προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ δὲ ἐπέπατο αὖ τις ἥκιστα Κύρου ἔκρυπτεν. οὐ γάρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερῶς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. **20.** φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εἴνους γνοίη ὅντας καὶ ἰκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὅ τι τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, οὐμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. **21.** καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων φέτο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἔκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. **22.** δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἷμα εἰς γε ὅν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἔκαστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὄρῳ ἔκαστον δεόμενον. **23.** καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἡ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἡ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἀν δύναιτο τούτους πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μεγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. **24.** καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὑ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἐπειδή γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων

καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. 25. Κῦρος γὰρ ἐπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις ὅπότε πάνυ ἥδιν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὕπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἥδιονι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἐπεμψε καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φίλεις. 26. πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἐπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν καλεύων τὸν φέροντα, Τούτοις ἡσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι. 27. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ έαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλὸν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς έαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. 28. εἰ δὲ δή ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὅψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοίη οὖς τιμᾶ. ὅστε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. 29. τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου οὗτος οὐδεὶς ἀπῆι πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν φέτο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὑρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ έαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ οὗτες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. 30. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενούμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὄρθως ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὔνους καὶ βεβαίους. 31. ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεξοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἵππου· ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ἦσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὐ ἥγειτο.

Χ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἵστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ὥρμητο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασύγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ. **2.** βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά ~~ταῦτα~~ ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. **3.** ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ ἄλλα ὄπόσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἔγεινοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. **4.** ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ "Ἑλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἥδη πάντες νικῶντες. **5.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἥσθοντο οἱ μὲν "Ἑλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατέυματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἥκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ "Ἑλληνες νικῶν τὸ καθ' αὐτὸὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οὐχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πληγαιάταος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέ τινας ἡ πάντες ἴσιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρίζοντες. **6.** ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσιὼν πάλιν ὡς ἐδόκει ὅπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν "Ἑλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτη προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἥγειν, ἡ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτη καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς "Ἑλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. **7.** ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρ-

νης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἐλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἐλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ καὶ ἡκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθέντος δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἥρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. 8. οὐδὲ οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μεῖνον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέψει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἑκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὅμοι δὴ πάλιν συνταξίμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. 9. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἐλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἐλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιῆσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. 10. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρώτον μαχούμενος συνήσει· ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὅντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπήγεσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. 11. οἱ δὲ αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός· 12. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐστησαν οἱ Ἐλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὐ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἵππεων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὄρᾶν ἔφασαν ἀετόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνατεταμένον. 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἐλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἵππεις· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ιθρόσι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δὲ ὁ λόφος τῶν ἵππεων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. 14. οὐδὲ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαξεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Δυρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. **15.** καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἥλασέ τε καὶ ἴδων ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὴρ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. **16.** ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ "Ἐλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ δύπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἄμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κύρος φαίνοιτο οὐδὲ ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἴκαζον ἡ διώκοντα οἰχεσθαι ἡ καταληψόμενόν τι προ-εληλακέναι. **17.** καὶ αὐτὸι ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἀγοιντο ἡ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-πεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπίεναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορ-πηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρη-μάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα καὶ ἕ τι σιτίον ἡ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξις μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρε-σκευάσατο Κύρος ἵνα, εἰ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔδεια, διαδοίη τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν· ἥσαν δ' αὗται τετρακόσιαι ὡς ἐλέγοντο ἄμμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρ-πασαν. **19.** ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἥσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν "Ἐλλή-νων· ἥσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

BOOK SECOND.

I. 'Ως μὲν οὖν ἡθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ 'Ἐλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρκην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ "Ἐλληνες ἐκοιμή-θησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμ-προσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες

οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὗτε ἄλλον πέμποι σημανδύντα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαινόιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασμένοις ἀ εἰχον καὶ ἔξοπλισμένοις προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. 3. ἥδη δὲ ἐν ὄρμῃ ὄντων ἄμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἥλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὥρμητο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμείνειν ἀν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπίέναι φαίη ἡπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἥλθε. 4. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ ὡς ὁράτε οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἥλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἀν ἡπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασίλειον καθίειν τιντόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχῃ νικώντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. 5. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίστοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. 6. οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῦντον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οὖν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἡνάγκαζον οἱ "Ελληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἥσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέας ἔφουντες ἥσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. 7. καὶ ἥδη τε ἦν περὶ

πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἢν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνος εἰς "Ελλην, δις ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὅν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. **8.** οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς "Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἴοντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἃν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. **9.** ταῦτα μὲν εἰπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ "Ἑλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἥκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικώντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδίδοντα· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ω̄ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ηξώ. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἵδιοι ταὶ εἰρὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θύσμενος. **10.** ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὅν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἀν ἀποθύνοιεν ἡ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ω̄ Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἵτει τὰ ὅπλα ἡ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἵτειν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. **11.** πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλίνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἥγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅστον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἀν ἀποκτεῖναι. **12.** μετὰ τούτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, Ὁ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὄρᾶς, ήμῶν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή· ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἀν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι,

παραδόντες δ' ἀν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἶου τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχούμεθα.

13. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλίνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐλλά φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔσικας, ὡς νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἵσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ἀν, εἰ οἴει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἀν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως.

14. ἄλλους δέ τινας ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακιζομένους ως καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἀν αὐτῷ.

15. ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἤκε, καὶ ἥρωτησεν εἰ ἡδη ἀποκεκριμένοι είεν. Φαλίνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὗτοι μὲν, ως Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις.

16. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγώ σε, ως Φαλίνε, ἀσμενος ἔώρακα, οἷμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἐλλην εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὁρᾶς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὃν λέγεις.

17. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβουλευσον ἡμῖν ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον είναι, καὶ ὅ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλίνος ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἐλληνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι συμβουλευόμενοι συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἰσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἀ ἀν συμβουλεύσῃς.

18. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλεῦσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον είεν οἱ Ἐλληνες. Φαλίνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν,

19. Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἔστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἔστιν ἐλπὶς ἄκοντος βασιλέως,

συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ύμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ’ ήμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ήμεῖς οἰδόμεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἴναι, πλείονος ἀν ἄξιοι είναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἀμεινον ἀν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. **21.** ὁ δὲ Φαλίνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ύμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπουδαὶ εἴησαν, προϊοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενείτε καὶ σπουδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ’ ήμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. **22.** Κλέαρχος δ’ ἐλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ήμῶν ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτα ἔστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλίνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἡν μὲν μένωμεν, σπουδαὶ, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. **23.** ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἡρώτησε, Σπουδαὶ ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπουδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. ὃ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.

II. Φαλίνος μὲν δὴ ὥχετο καὶ οἱ σὸν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἐλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίνεται Αριαίος εἴναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οἷς οὐκ ἀν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἥδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρὼτος ἀπιέναι φησίν. **2.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ’ οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἔαν μὲν ἥκωμεν, ὕσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πράττετε ὅποιον ἀν τι ύμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὃ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. **3.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἥδη ἥλιον δύνοντος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐλεξε τοιάδε. Ἐμοὶ, ὡς ἄνδρες, θυμένῳ ἵέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγύγνετο τὰ ἱερά· καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγύγνετο· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ υῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ήμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἔστι ναυσί-

πορος, ὃν οὐκ ἀν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἷόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ίέναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ιμᾶν τὰ ἵερὰ ἦν. **4.** ὥδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπεισθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω. **5.** ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἥρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπειθούτο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὄρωντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οὐα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀπειροὶ ἤσαν. **6.** ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἥλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσουν τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαθυλῶνα στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. **7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θρᾷξ ἔχων τούς τε ἴππίας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὡς τριακοσίους ηὗτομόλητε πρὸς βασιλέα. **8.** Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥργεντο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἴποντο· καὶ ἀφικοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρώτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα συνηλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὅμοσαν οἵ τε Ἑλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἥγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. **9.** ταῦτα δ' ὅμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες βύπτουντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. **10.** ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἰπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὡς Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεί-

περ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γυνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἅπιμεν ἥνπερ ἥλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννευοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὅδον κρείττω. **11.** ὁ δ' εἰπεν, “*Hn* μὲν ἥλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἀν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολούμεθα· ὑπάρχει γάρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἴώντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν.

12. πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἀν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὅδον ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἵσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γυνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

13. *Hn* δὲ αὔτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶνται ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορέυοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν.

14. ἐτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὄραν ἵππεας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ ἐτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὅντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐπύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορεύομενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο, καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

15. ἐν φ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἥκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιτο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγύς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω.

16. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἥγεν· ἥδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὅντας· ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὄψε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος

μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ηλίῳ δυο-
μένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκή-
νωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος
καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. **17.** οἱ μὲν οὖν πρώτοι
ὅμως τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὑστεροὶ σκοταιοὶ
προσιόντες ώς ἐτύγχανον ἔκαστοι ηλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν
πολλὴν ἐπιούσην καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. **18.** δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστε-
ραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὕτε γὰρ ὑποξύγιον ἔτ’ οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὕτε
στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη δὲ,
ώς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδή-
λωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἱς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπραττε. **19.** προϊούσης
μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει,
καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἡν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγ-
νεσθαι. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν
ἔχων παρ' έαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν
ἐκέλευσε συγὴν κατακηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύοντιν οἱ ἄρχον-
τες, διὸ ἀν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν δόνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψε-
ται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. **21.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη,
ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιώται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη καὶ οἱ ἄρχον-
τες σῶοι. ἅμα δὲ ὅρθρῳ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν
τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς "Ελληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

III. "Ο δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ,
τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ
ὅπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ηλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι
κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ σπουδῶν. **2.** οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἡλθον πρὸς
τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐξήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγ-
γελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις
ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοὺς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περι-
μένειν ἄχρι ἀν σχολάσῃ. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρά-
τευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὄρασθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνήν,

τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἄγγελους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τούς τε εὐσπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. **4.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἀνηρώτα τί βούλοιντο. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἥκοιεν ἄνδρες σύντινες ἴκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοὺς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. **5.** ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τούνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. **6.** ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπῆλαυνον, καὶ ἥκον ταχύ· φέ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις φέ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν. ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἥκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὃν αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπουδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξυσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **7.** ὁ δὲ ἥρωτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἵνσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσοιντο σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἀν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῆ. **8.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. **9.** ὁ δέ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἀν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἷμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τάπιτήδεια. **10.** καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγούντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἀνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἥσαν ἐκπεπτω-

κότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔξεκοπτον. **11.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκούῃ τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἂμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάζειν. **12.** καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἑώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. **13.** πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ ἀεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅρα οἴα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδειν· ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἥδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς "Ἐλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἔνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. **14.** πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὅξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. **15.** αὐτὰς δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἴας μὲν ἐν τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρου οὔδεν διέφερε· τὰς δέ τινας ἔηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἥδη μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. **16.** ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρώτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἴδιότητα τῆς ἥδους. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. οὐ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἔξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος αὐαίνετο.

17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἤκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἴπουντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἔλεγε πρώτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἔρμηνέως τοιάδε. **18.** Ἐγὼ, ὡς ἄνδρες "Ἐλληνες, γείτων οἰκῷ τῇ Ἐλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς

εἰδον εἰς πολλὰ καμῆχανα πεπτωκότας, εὑρημα ἐποιησάμην εἰ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ύμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἷμαι γὰρ ἀν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ύμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. **19.** ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ δτι δικαίως ἄν μοι χαρίζοιτο, δτι αὐτῷ Κύρον τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρώτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἄμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ύμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. **20.** καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύσεσθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με ύμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ύμην μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ἦ ἐάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ύμῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. **21.** πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κύρος εὗρισκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἰσθα, ἵνα ύμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκένους λάθοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. **22.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἥδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὅντα, ἥσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. **23.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τέθυντεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλούμεθ' ἀν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευούμεθα δ' ἀν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίη· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες. **24.** ὁ μὲν οὔτως εἰπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρης

ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἔγω ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τέ παρ’ ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ’ ἂν ἔγω ἥκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. **25.** καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἥκειν· ὥσθ’ οἱ “Ἐλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἥκωι ἐλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἥκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς “Ἐλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. **26.** τέλος δὲ εἶπε, Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πίστα λαβεῖν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἡ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν ‘Ἐλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ’ ἂν μὴ ἡ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **27.** ὑμᾶς δ’ αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὄμόσαι ἡ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς σῆτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἦν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὧνουμένους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **28.** ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὡμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοὺς τῶν ‘Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν ‘Ἐλλήνων. **29.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἀπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἀ δέομάι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ‘Ἐλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ὀρχήν.

IV. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οὐ τε “Ἐλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἡ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικυοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. **2.** τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίου ἡττον προσέχοντες τοὺς “Ἐλλησι τὸν νεῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν ‘Ἐλλήνων οὐκ ἥρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεαύρχῳ ἐλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς. **3.** Τί

μένομεν; ή οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἀν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησι φόβος ή ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὴν δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ η στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. 4. Ἰσως δέ που η ἀποσκάπτει τι η ἀποτειχίζει, ως ἄπορος η ή ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκών γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ως ἡμέis τοσούδε ὅντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. 5. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δάξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπίειναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπουδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθὶς δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούμενταν ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὅντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. 6. ποταμὸς δ' εἴ μέν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀν μάχεσθαι γε δέη ἵππεις εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεις εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἀν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ήττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἰόν τε σωθῆναι. 7. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, φούτω πολλά ἔστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἅπιστα ποιῆσαι "Ελλησί τε καὶ βαρύροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐλεγεν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ως εἰς οἰκον ἀπιών καὶ Ὁρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἥγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. 9. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἥδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέ-

χοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου Βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἀμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὁρόντα καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἑκίνοις. **10.** οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτὸι ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἑκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ μεῖον· ἐφιλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν. **11.** ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτου καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλους· ὕστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρεῖχε. **12.** διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὅπταις ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμένας, εὐρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασάγγων· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλώνος οὐ πολύ. **13.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διεβῆσαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὗται δ' ἡσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμηντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρώται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχετοι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ὧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἡ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαΐδεκα. **14.** οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνωσαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. **15.** μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὅντες πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἀνθρωπός τις ἡρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποὺ ἦν Πρόξενον ἡ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἔζητει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὧν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἴμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν

ό ἄνθρωπος τάδε. "Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαίος καὶ Ἀρτάζος, πιστοὶ ὅντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύοντι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. 17. καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύοντι φυλακῆν, ώς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι Τισταφέρνης τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐὰν δύνηται, ώς μὴ διαβῆτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. 18. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἀλέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. 19. νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ώς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἡ νικᾶν δεήσει ἡ ἡττᾶσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὡσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἀν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. 20. ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἕκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν ὅντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. 21. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἥρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. 22. τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψειαν, ὀκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἑλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείνειαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχουεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένουτο εἰς τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. 23. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἐπεμψαν· καὶ οὕτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν οὕτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἡλθε τῶν πολεμίων ώς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. 24. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέ-

φυραν ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ ὡς οἵον τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρους Ἐλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθῆσεσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφύνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

25. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμὸν, τὸ εὑρος πλέθρου· ἐπῆν δὲ γέφυρα· καὶ ἐνταῦθα φέκειτο πόλις μεγάλη ἡ ὄνομα Ὁπις· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθοις ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ελληνας ἐθεώρει. **26.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγείτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνου δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὅστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἐλλησι δόξαι πάμπολυ εἴναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλήγθαι θεωροῦντα. **27.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἔξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρης, Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν, διαρπύσαι τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀδραπόδων. ἐνīην δὲ σῆτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. **28.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις φέκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναὶ, ἐξ ἣς οἱ βάρβαροι διῆγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυροὺς, οἶνον.

V. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὑρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίᾳ μὲν ἡσαν, φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμίᾳ

έφαινετο ἐπιβουλή. 2. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, εἴ πως δύναιτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἔξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἐπεμψέ τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἥκειν. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὡς Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἥμιν ὄρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῷ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐδὲ δύναμαι οὕτε σὲ αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἀλθεῖν, ὅπως εἴ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. 5. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἥδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὕτε μέλλοντας οὗτ' αὐτὸν βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. 6. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἀν παύεσθαι ἥκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἥμιν οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὄρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλους· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκὼς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἀν εὑδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὗτ' ἀπὸ ποιόν τούς τάχοις φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὗτ' εἰς ποῖον ἀν σκότος ἀποδραΐη οὗθ' ὅπως ἀν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη. πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὅποιχα καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἵσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. 8. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἥμιν ἀγαθόν. 9. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὄδος εὔπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορίᾳ· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ή ὄδος· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος,

πᾶς δὲ ὅχλος φοβερὸς, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημίᾳ· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἔστιν. **10.** εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἀνὴ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζούμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οὖν ἀνὴ ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. **11.** ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρου ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἰκανώτατον εἶναι εὐ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο· σὲ δὲ νῦν ὄρῳ τήν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἥτις Κύρος πολεμίᾳ ἔχρητο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὔσαν. **12.** τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται δύστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῷ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἔξ ανὴ ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. **13.** οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἀν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῶν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἂν οἵμαι ἀν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἴγυπτίους δὲ, οἵς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὄρῳ ποίᾳ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἀν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. **14.** ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκούσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο τῷ φίλος εἶναι, ὡς μέγιστος ἀν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς σε λυποίη, ὡς δεσπότης ἀν ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἵς σοι οὐκ ἀν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἔνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῦμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἦν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἀν ἔχοιμεν δικαιώς. **15.** ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἀν ἀκούσαιμι τοῦνομα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὡδε ἀπημείφθη.

16. Ἀλλ' ἥδομαι μὲν, ὡς Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βου-

λεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὡς δ' ἀν μάθης ὅτι οὐδ' ἀν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. 17. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἵππεων πλήθους ἀπορεῦν ἡ πεζῶν ἡ ὄπλισεως ἐν ἦ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἴκανοὶ εἴημεν ἀν, ἀντιπάχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; 18. ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμὸν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῦν ἀν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἡ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὅρη ὑμὸν ὄρατε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἡ ἡμὸν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἀπορα ὑμὸν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμὸν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὀπόσοις ἀν ὑμῶν βουλώμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἀν παντάπασι. διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. 19. εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρείττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἔστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἀν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμὸν ἀντιτάξαι, φῶ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνι ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἀν δύναισθε. 20. πῶς ἀν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμὸν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμὸν ἐπικινδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τούτον ἀν τὸν τρόπον ἔξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβῆς, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός; 21. παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἔστι καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἔχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἔθελουσι δι' ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὡς Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγυστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. 22. ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἔξον ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἥλθομεν; εὐ ίσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῦς "Ἐλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ φῶ Κύρος ἀνέβη ξεψικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἴσχυρόν. 23. ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἔστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἰπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὁρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἀν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἔτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

24. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; **25.** Καὶ ἐγὼ μέν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρης, εἰ βούλεσθε μοι οὖ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. **26.** Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. **27.** ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλος τ' ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οὐόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρει καὶ ἂν ἔλεγεν ἐκέινος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι οἴνα παρὰ Τισσαφέρην οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οὐλὸν ἐλεγχθώσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτὸύς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. **28.** ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγέγενημένον Τισσαφέρει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, δπως τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ἦ Τισσαφέρει. **29.** ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γυνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγον τινες αὐτῷ μὴ οἴναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρει. **30.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἴσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπρύξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς οἴναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρινος, οἵ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἴσω, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος, Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἀγίας Ἀρκὰς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. **32.** οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οὗ τ' ἔνδον συν-

ελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἵππεων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ὡτινι ἐντυγχάνουεν "Ἐλληνι ἡ δούλῳ ἡ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον. 33. οἱ δὲ" Ἐλληνες τὴν τε ἵππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὄρθωντες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποίουν ἡμφεγυόσουν, πρὸν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὺς ἡκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. 34. ἐκ τούτων δὴ οἱ "Ἐλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 35. οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἥλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοζος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οὐδὲ οἵσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γιγνώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. 36. οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ήσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευναν εὖ τις εἶη τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡ στρατηγὸς ἡ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως. 37. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὁρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίστοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὸν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. 38. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἴπεν Ἀριαῖος τῷδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες "Ἐλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθινκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβούλην, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· ἕαυτοῦ γάρ εἰναι φησιν, ἐπείπερ Κύρου ήσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. 39. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ "Ἐλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὁρχομένιος· Ὡς κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἡτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὀμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἔχθροὺς νομίειν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας

αὐτοὺς οῖς ὥμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδωκότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; 40. ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὁρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν τούτοις. 41. ἐπὶ τούτοις Εενοφῶν τύδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπουδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυνσθαι τοὺς ἐπιωρκοῦντας. Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ὑμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε ὅντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσουνται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύσαι. 42. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

VII. Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἔχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. 2. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἔξεπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ Περύνθου Θρᾳξίν. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγανόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἥδη ἔξω ὅντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. 4. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἥδη δὲ φυγὰς ὡν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ ὅποιοις μὲν λόγοις ἐπεισε Κύρου ἄλλῃ γέγραπται, διδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρίους δαρεικούς· 5. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θρᾳξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κύρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς

σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ πολεμήσων. **6.** ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἔξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλαύβης αἱρέται πολεμεῖν, ἔξὸν δὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν ὡστε πολεμεῖν, ἔξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἱρέται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκείνος δὲ ὡσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἡ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἥθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. **7.** πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὠμολόγουν. **8.** καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἷον κάκείνος εἶχεν. ἵκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἵκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἴτη Κλεάρχῳ. **9.** τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὄραν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζε τε ἀεὶ ἴσχυρώς, καὶ ὀργὴ ἐνίστε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμῃ δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδενὶ ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, **10.** ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἡ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἡ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἡ ἀπροφασίστως ἱέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. **11.** ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἥθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἥροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαινεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὡστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἔφαίνετο. **12.** ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο καὶ ἔξειν πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὡμός· ὡστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδύσκαλον. **13.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίᾳ μὲν καὶ εὔνοίᾳ ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἡ

ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἡ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκη κατεχόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἔχρητοι.
14. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἥδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ’ ἐκείνους τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.
15. τοιούτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

16. Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὃν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἰκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ.
17. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἰκανὸς νομίσας ἥδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὃν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἥλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ὥστο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά.
18. τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἰχεν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἀν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ φέτο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή.
19. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν κάγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτ' αἰδὼ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὗτε φόβον ἰκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἄρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιώται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ.
20. ὥστο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί τε κάγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εύνοι ἥσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

21. Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἵσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίτε

δίκην. 22. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὅν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομωτάτην φέτο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκέων τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἔξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. 23. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγύγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέγετο. 24. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ φέτο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος φέτο εἰδέναι ἤδηστον δν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. 25. καὶ δσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὑρίσκειτο, τοῖς δ' ὄσιοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάδροις ἐπειράτῳ χρῆσθαι. 26. ὕσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιότητι, οὗτω Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἔξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους διαγελῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανούργον τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἀεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τούτους φέτο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. 27. τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικείν αὐτοῖς ἐμπηχανάτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἀν ἀδικεῖν. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅπότε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστα το, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. 28. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἀ δὲ πάντες ἵσασι τάδ' ἔστι. παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὠραῖος ὅν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ἔνων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὅντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἥδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὠραῖος ὅν ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παδικὰ εἴχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὅν γενειῶντα. 29. ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατήγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκάς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὕσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς

κεφαλὰς, ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ξῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

30. Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατέγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτὸὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἥστην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

BOOK THIRD.

I. "Οσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἐλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπίστων τῶν Ἐλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνῃ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἐπεὶ δὲ οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἐλληνες, ἐνυοούμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις Ἠσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιαι Ἠσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἐλλάδος οὐ μείον ἦ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδε ὁδοῦ, προύδεδώκεσσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρθαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμμένοι Ἠσαν, οὐδὲ ἵππεα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὑδηλον ἦν ὅτι ιικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἀν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἀν λειφθείη. **3.** ταῦτα ἐνυοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἥλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἔκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὕποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι δψεσθαι. οὗτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἡν δέ τις εν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὗτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ἀν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν, ξένος ἀν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, διν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπαίτιον εἶη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινώσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἀν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἥλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας γράπατο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἥρώτα, πότερον λόφον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἵτεον εἰναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἀν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν δσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξέπλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κύρου μέλλοντας ἥδη ὄρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπρονθυμεῖτο μεῖναι αὐτὸν· εἰπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτὸν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἰναι εἰς Πισιδας. 10. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ἥδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὄρμὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἥλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἥδη ἐδόκει εἰναι ὅτι

ὁ στόλος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβουμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ ἄκοντες, ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὃν εἰς καὶ Σενοφῶν ἦν. **11.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἔδύνατο καθεύδειν. μικρὸν δὲ ὑπνου λαχὸν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῷαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. **12.** περίφοβος δὲ εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῆ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὃν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἴδειν ἔδοξε· πῆ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἔδοκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἔδοκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔξελθειν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐργούτο πάντοθεν ὑπό τινων ἀποριῶν. **13.** ὅποιόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιούτον ὄναρ ἴδειν, ἔξεστη σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ τύδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· Τί κατάκειμαι; ή δὲ νὺξ προβαίνει. ἀμφὶ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ηξειν. εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῦ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; **14.** ὅπως δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὕσπερ ἔξον ησυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δὲ ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὡς ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὗτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὕσπερ οἷμαι οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς, οὕτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὥρῳ ἐν οἷοις ἐσμέν. **16.** οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν

πόλεμον ἔξεφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 17. καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑφῆσόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; διὸ καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἥδη ἀποτεμὰν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς κηδεμὰν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστι, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν, ὡς δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἀν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; 18. ἀρ' οὐκ ἀν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσαι ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. 19. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἡσαν, οὕποτε ἐπανόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτείρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην μὲν χώραν καὶ οἵαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ. 20. τὰ δὲ αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅπότε ἐνθυμούμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμᾶν μετείη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δὲ ὡνησόμεθα ἥδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἡ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἥδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἡ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. 21. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποφία. ἐν μέσῳ γάρ ἥδη κεῦται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά, ἀθλα ὅπότεροι ἀν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὡσιν, ἀγωνιόθεται δὲ οἱ θεοί εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔσονται. 22. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὄρῶντες ἀγαθά, στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὃστε ἔξειναὶ μοι δοκεῖ ἴέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἡ τούτοις.

23. Ἐτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἵκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θυητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδώσιν. **24.** ἀλλ' ἵσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἕργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἀρξωμεν τοῦ ἔξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν. φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. **25.** κἀγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἔξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἐπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τάττετε με ἡγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμά-ζειν ἡγούμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.

26. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἀν τυχεῖν ἡ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναιτο, καὶ ἂμα ἥρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. **27.** ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὡδε. Ὡ θαυμα-σιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύ γε οὐδὲ ὄρῶν γυγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταῦτῳ γε μέντοι ἥσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδίδοναι τὰ ὅπλα. **28.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παρα-δόντες, ἀλλ' ἔξοπλισάμενοι, ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐ-τῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αὐτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; **29.** ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἥλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμε-νοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἵμαι ἐφῶντες τούτου; ἀ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι

κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ίόντας; 30. ἐμοὶ δέ, ω̄ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεύη ἀναθέντας ώς τοιεύτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι "Ἑλλην ὁν τοιοῦτος ἔστιν. 31. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν, ἀμφότερα τὰ ὡτα τετρυπημένουν. καὶ εἴχεν οὐτώς. 32. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ίόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὅπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν λοχαγὸν.

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν δπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν μέσαι ἡσαν νύκτες. 34. ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος, πρεσβύτατος ὁν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὡδε. Ἡμῖν, ω̄ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὄρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἰ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ, ω̄ Ξενοφῶν, ἄπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. 35. ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδύνηθησαν συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ώς ἦν δύνωνται ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἵμαι πάντα ποιητέα ώς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ἐκένοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. 36. εὐτοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται

οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὄρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἦν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἡτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἵστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι. **37.** ἵσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιον ἔστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἔστε στρατηγοὶ, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἔστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβούλευειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἦν που δέῃ. **38.** καὶ νῦν πρώτον μὲν οἷμαι ἀν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὄντος τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἀν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξίᾳ σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξίᾳ πολλοὺς ἥδη ἀπολώλεκεν. **39.** ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παριθαρρυνητε, οἷμαι ἀν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. **40.** νῦν γὰρ ἵσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἥλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἔχόντων οὐκ οἴδα ὅ τι ἄν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε συκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. **41.** ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γυνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. **42.** ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλήθος ἔστιν οὔτε ἴσχυς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἀν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. **43.** ἐντεθύμημαι δὲ ἔγωγε, ὡς ἄνδρες, καὶ τούτο, ὅτι ὁπόσοι

μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικούμενους, καὶ ἔως ἣν ζώσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. **44.** ἀ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.

45. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπάυσατο. μετὰ δὲ τούτου εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. 'Αλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἦκουν Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλούμην ἣν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἣν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. **46.** καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἄλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἥδη αἱρέοντες οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἥκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεὶ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δὲ ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. **47.** καὶ ἄμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοντο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἥρεθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαίος, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκὰς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαίος, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

II. 'Επεὶ δὲ ἥρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἥκουν οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἔπειτε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται συνηλθον, ἀνέστη πρώτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε. **2.** 'Ω ἄνδρες στρατιώται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅπότε ἄνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν,

πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ οἱ ὑμφὶ Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὅντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς· 3. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσθαι ὅπως ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σωζόμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἷμα γὰρ ἀν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἴα τοὺς ἔχθρους οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν. 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὁρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε. Ἐάλλ' ὄράτε μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὄράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἀν ποιήσαιτο σώσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δοὺς, αὐτὸς ἔξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, καὶ οὐδὲ Διαξένιον ἤδεσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεύρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεξος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἡθελομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὕτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὕτε Κύρου τεθνηκοτα αἰδεσθεὶς, τιμῷμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνους ἔχθιστους ἀποστὺς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. 6. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὄρωντας μήποτε ἔξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἀν δυνώμεθα κράτοστα, τούτο ὅ τι ἀν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο καλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδούνεν οἱ θεοὶ, τὸν καλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτῶν δέοι, ὄρθως ἔχειν τῶν καλλιστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἥρχετο ὥδε. 8. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν

λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἵμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἵέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὥρωντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὃν διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἵα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὡν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. **9.** Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτύρνυται τις ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιώται πάντες μᾶς ὄρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. καὶ ὁ Ζενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἴωντος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἀν πρώτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ηὔξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὁδε.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδούμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκαστι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δὲ ἔχόντων, εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οὕτερον ἰκανοί εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κανὸν ἐν δεινοῖς ὀστει, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. **11.** ἔπειτα δὲ, ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.

12. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὥπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἴκανὰς εὑρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. **13.** ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὑστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἡλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὃν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτρύφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μέν ἔστε προγόνων. **14.** Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο γέ ἐρῶ, ώς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ᾽ οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὐ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. **15.** καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ, ὅπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγών ἔστι, πολὺ δῆπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἴναι. **16.** ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἴναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὅντες αὐτῶν τό τε πλῆθος ἀμετρονόρωντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ, ὅπότε καὶ πεῖραν ἥδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὅντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; **17.** Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μένον δόξῃτε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύρειοι πρόσθευ σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δὲ ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρείττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἡ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. **18.** Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμη-

θητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὺρὶ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἀν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. **19.** οὐκοῦν τῶν ἵππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὁχήματός ἔσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὺρὶ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἵσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἦν τις προσίη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἀν βουλώμεθα τενέομεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεῦγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἔστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. **20.** Εἴ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεύετε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρείττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, διὸ ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἔστιν, ἢ οὓς ἀν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἴσονται ὅτι, ἦν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς έαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. **21.** τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὐτοὶ παρέχουν, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἦνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὀπόσφι ἀν ἔκαστος βούληται. **22.** Εἴ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γιγνώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἔξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοὶ, ἦν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὡσι, προϊούσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. **23.** Εἴ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμών τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανεῖται, οὐδὲ ὡς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἀν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας

πόλεις οἰκοῖσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ώσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴδομεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἔρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. 24. καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἀν ἔφη ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ώρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατυσκευάζεσθαι ώς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. οἱδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἥγεμονις ἀν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἀν ὄμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἀν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἀν οἱδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἔωρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ, ἀν ἄπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιωτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὄμιλεῖν, μὴ ὕσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὅτι ἑκόντες πένονται, ἔξοντος τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὄρâν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ω̄ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἔστι. 27. Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἀν πορευούμεθά τε ώς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι, ώς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξιας ἄστρον, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῆ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἀν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἐπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελούσι δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. 28. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευών τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν δσα πολέμου ἔνεκεν ἡ σύτων ἡ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵν' ώς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὡσιν, ώς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια·

ἥν δε κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμέτερους νομίζειν. **29.** Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστος νομίζω εἶναι. ὁράτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἔξενεγκεν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὅντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἵκανον εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχίᾳ ἀν καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. **30.** δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦν ἡ πρόσθεν. **31.** ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ, ἦν ψηφίσησθε τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σύν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλευστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄφονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέφοντας κακῷ εἶναι. **32.** Ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἥδη ὕδρα· ἵσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵν' ἔργῳ περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἡ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἴδιωτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

33. Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μέν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτους οἵς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἔξεσται ποιεῖν· ἂ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα· ἀνέτειναν ἀπαντεῖς. **34.** Αναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν. Ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὡν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχούσας· **35.** οὐκ ἀν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι — ὃσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσί τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας

φεύγουσιν — εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν.
36. ἵσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαισιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ὥστα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς σχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ γῆ. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη τίνα χρὴ ἴγεισθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων είναι, τίνας δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἀν ὄπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν βουλεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθ' ἀν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. **37.** εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὄρῷ, ἄλλως ἔχετω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἥργοιτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων δύο τὰ πρεσβυτάτω στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοίσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἔγώ τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν είναι. **38.** τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα δὲ τι ἀν ἀεὶ κράτιστον δοκῆ είναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὄρῷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· "Οτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀντεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **39.** Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ δόστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς είναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· δόστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικώντων τὸ κατακάίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικώντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.

III. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἵππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσύμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς

ἐπήκοον, λέγει ὁδε. 2. Ἐγὼ, ὁ ἄνδρες "Ἐλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὔνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρόην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἀν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρός με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὔνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἴ μέν τις ἐᾶ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἀν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἀν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειράτῳ Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἴη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἐνθα δὴ ἐγγυώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἔνεκα. 5. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδοκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἰεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιώπτες τοὺς στρατώτας, καὶ ἔνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ φέρετο ἀπιὰν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἵππεις ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. 7. καὶ προσήγει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὁν πρὸς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἵππεις καὶ πεζὸι, οἱ δὲ ἐσφεδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποίουν δὲ οὐδέν· οἵ τε γὰρ Κρῆτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὅντες

εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἵ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἡκόντιξον ἢ ὡς ἔξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. **8.** ἐκ τούτου Σενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὄπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν ὃν ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. **9.** οὕτε γὰρ ἵππεῖς ἡσαν τοῖς "Ελλησιν, οὕτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἰόν τε ἡν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. **10.** οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἵππεῖς, καὶ φεύγοντες ἀμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὁπόσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ "Ελληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. **11.** ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δεῖλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. "Ενθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμίᾳ ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Σενοφῶντα ἤτιώντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. **12.** ἀκούσας δὲ Σενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὄρθως ὢτιώντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἡναγκύσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. **13.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀλληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. **14.** τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ρώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἡλθού, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι δὲ ὡν δεόμεθα. **15.** νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύονται καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὕτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὕτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἔξικνεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἰόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ, οὐδὲ εἰ ταχὺς εἴη, πεζὸς πεζὸν ἀν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ

τόξου ρύματος. **16.** Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἴργειν
ῶστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονη-
τῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἵππεων. ἀκούω δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῷ
στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ὅρδιον, ὃν τοὺς πολλούς φασιν ἐπί-
στασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον
φέρεσθαι τῷν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. **17.** ἐκεῖναι γάρ, διὰ
τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἔξικνοῦν-
ται, οἱ δὲ Ὅρδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσιν ἐπίστανται χρῆ-
σθαι. **18.** ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται
σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ
ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελώμεν, καὶ τῷ
σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν
εὑρίσκωμεν, ἵσως τινὲς φυνοῦνται ἰκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὥφελεῖν.
19. Ὁρῶ δὲ ἵππους ὅντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μέν
τινας παρ' ἐμοὶ, τοὺς δὲ τῷν Κλεάρχου καταλειπμένους,
πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἀν
οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδόμεν,
τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἵππεας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἵσως καὶ οὗτοὶ
τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **20.** Καὶ
ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο,
ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἵππεις ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντή-
κοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ
ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυνικόπολες Αθηναῖος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύ-
οντο πρφαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει
διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοίντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνου-
σιν οἱ πολέμιοι. **2.** διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται
ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἵππεας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφε-
νδονῆταις εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ἤγησε Τισσα-
φέρνην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἀν τούτους λάβη, παρα-
δώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς "Ελληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ

πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδὲν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ "Ελληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπέιχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὄκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππευσιν εἵρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφεψιμένης ἴκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἡδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἔξικνουντο, ἐσήμηνε τοὺς "Ελλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο, καὶ οἱ ἵππεις ἥλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοὺς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοί, καὶ τῶν ἵππεων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωὶς ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὄκτωκαδέκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ "Ελληνες ἤκισαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοὺς πολεμίους εἶη ὄραν. 6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 7. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὃνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ὅκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὑρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασώγγαι· φύκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρητὶς δ' ὑπὸν λιθίνη, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὃτε παρὰ Μῆδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἡφάνισε, μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὗτως ἔάλω. 9. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὑρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἔνα παρασώγγας ἐξ, πρὸς τείχος ἐρημον μέγα

πρὸς τὴν πόλει κείμενον· ὅνομα δὲ ἦν τὴν πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δὲ αὐτὴν ποτε φέρουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὑρός πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὑψος πεντήκοντα. **11.** ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὔρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἔξι παρασάγγα. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. **12.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔδυνατο οὕτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὕτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἔαλω.

13. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἔνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὖς τε αὐτὸς ἵππεας ἥλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὖς Κύρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὖς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. **14.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἰχεν ὄπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. **15.** ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γαρ εἰ πάνυ προυθυμεῖτο ράδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. **16.** Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δὲ εἴποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γάρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. **17.** μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅπόσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς

Κρησὶ, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἵεντές μακράν. εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

18. Καὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ήμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ "Ελληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείνοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ήμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γάρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρινης εἴπετο ἀκροβολέζομενος.

19. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ "Ελληνες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πλαίσιον ἴστορευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἦν μὲν συγκύπτη τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἢ ὁδὸν στενωτέρας οὖσης, ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἡ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὄπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζόμενους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας. **20.** ὅταν δὲ αὖ διάσχη τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας, πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὅπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἔκαστος βουλόμενος φθάμαι πρώτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. **21.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὅπότε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὑστεροὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. **22.** ὅπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, — εἰ μὲν στενώτερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντη-

κοστῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὅστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. 23. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἡ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράπτοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φύλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὖτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασίλειον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὄδον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τούτῳ διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γυγνομένην, ὃν καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους ὑφ' ὧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἑλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὅντων ἵππεων·

25. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γῆλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρανές ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· 26. καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων· ὅστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἤσαν, ἐν τῷ ὅχλῳ ὅντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται.

27. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὄπλιται ὅντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. 28. πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίσιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὅστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὅρος. 29. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνοντι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθείσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι. 30. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ

δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὅρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ ῥιτροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. **31.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἄμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλάς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνώγη κατασκηνῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἴδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὅπλα δεξάμενοι. **33.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἔλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον ἐκ χώρας ὄρμῶντες ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευόμενοι ἐπιοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. **34.** Ἡνίκα δὲ ἦν ἡδη δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὕποτε γὰρ μέσον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ ἔξηκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐπιθώνται αὐτοῖς. **35.** πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἔστι στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἵ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἔνεκα εἰ λυθείσαν· ἔν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἔνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἐλλήνων. **36.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἔλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἐλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπήσαν· οὐ γαρ ἐδόκει

λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατύγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. **37.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἥδη ἔώρων οἱ "Ἐλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζένξαντες, καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον ἔξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἡ ἐμελλον οἱ "Ἐλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατύβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατείλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς, καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. **39.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγειν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἐώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελύσας ἥρωτα, Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Εξεστιν ὄρāν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβύσσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόφομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγει τοὺς πελταστάς; **40.** ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν, πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελäß ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. **41.** Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὄρā τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὐσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἥσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· Κράτιστον, ὁ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἵεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τούτῳ λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. **42.** Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν οἱ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἔστιν, αἴρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δέ οἱ

συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν.

43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστύς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσου τοῦ πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ως ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι, ως ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτὸὶ ὥρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.

45. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκελεύετο· "Ανδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναικας, νῦν δλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. **47.** Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἔξ ίσου, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὅχει, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.

48. καὶ δος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὀθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφέλομενος ως ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἵππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοὺς δὲ ὅπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένοις. **49.** οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ηνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς, ἔως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἥγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπειδε πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

V. "Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἔκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' "Ἑλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ

ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαίου ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν φύχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἥσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κώμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ πιρὰ τὸν Τύγρητα ποταμόν. 2. ἵνα δ' ἦν δειλη, ἔξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινας τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρταγήν· καὶ γὰρ νομάὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κάειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡβύμπτσάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ κάοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὅπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ήενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἵνα διατάξεις ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὁράτε, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἥδη ἡμετέραν εἴναι; ἀ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ κάειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ κάονσιν ώς ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλίπωσι γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁφονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. ἀλλ', ὡ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάοντας ώς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν. Οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, κάωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἥσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὅρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἐνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ώς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθών τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν. Ἔγὼ θέλω, ὡ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρα-

κισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἀν ἐμοὶ ὡν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. 9. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δὲ ὄρῳ πρόβατα καὶ αἴγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἢ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥᾳδίως ἀν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἵς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὄρμίσας ἔκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφεῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼν ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μιὰν εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ δλισθάνειν η ὕλη καὶ η γῆ σχήσει. 12. Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ησαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἵππεις, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἀν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. 13. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν [ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήσεσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ ὅμοιοι ησαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ τί ἐν τῷ ἔχοιεν.

14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ησαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ἡλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. 15. οἱ δὲ ἐλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι ησπερη ἥκοιεν· η δὲ πρὸς ἔω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβύτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἀφίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς· η δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· η δὲ διὰ τῶν ὄρέων, καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμένη, ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. 16. τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως

οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοστῆσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὅπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαντο, καὶ ἐπιμιγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἑκείνους καὶ ἑκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. **17.** Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἔκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὄρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἢς Ὁρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαιμόνος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εὑπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. **18.** ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὄρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν, συσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεσθαι ἡνὶκ' ἂν τις παραγγέλῃ.

BOOK FOURTH.

1. "Οσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἂς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἐλληνες ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπουδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὅρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὄρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. **3.** ἦκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων

δτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὅρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. τὴν δὲ εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὡδεὶς ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθύσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

5. Ἡνίκα δὲ ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τημικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως, πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὅρος. 6. ἐνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνῆτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὅπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἴπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνῆτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἀνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὅπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. 7. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὑφηγεῖτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεστί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὄρέων. 8. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδούχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παιδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἥσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμέναι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὃν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἑλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐίσικον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδούχοι διείναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπείπερ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἥσαν· 9. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου, ἥδη σκοταῖοι, — διὰ γὰρ τὸ

στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας,—τότε δὲ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθους καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγους ὅντες· ἔξι ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. 11. εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν σύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ηὔλισθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαστον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. 12. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποξυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τᾶλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι. 13. σχολαίαν γύρι ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν, πολλὰ ὅντα, τὰ ὑποξύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκτήνειαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στειρῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὑρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν. εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἡ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἡ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μέν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. 15. εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμῶν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τάπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὥπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. 16. καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφευδόνων· ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχά-

ζοντες, σχολη̄ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμνὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Εενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἵσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο.

17. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῆτο ὑπέ·
μενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ’ ἥγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα
ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμά τι εἴη· σχολὴ δὲ οὐκ
ἥν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία
όμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. **18.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα
ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς
διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς, καὶ
Βασίας Ἀρκὰς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλήν. **19.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμὸν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Εενοφῶν
ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ἥτιάτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενεν,
ἀλλ’ ἡναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἀμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν
δύο καλώ τε κάγαθὸς ἄνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι
οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. **20.** ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος·
Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὅρη, καὶ ἴδε ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστὶ·
μία δὲ αὗτῇ ὁδὸς ἦν ὄρᾶς ὄρθια, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων
όραν ἔξεστί σοι ὅχλον τοσοῦτον, οἱ κατειληφότες φυλάτ-
τουσι τὴν ἔκβασιν. **21.** ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἰ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν
κατειλῆθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ
φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδὸν. **22.** ὁ δὲ Εενοφῶν λέγει· Ἄλλ’
ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ήμῶν πράγματα παρεῖχον,
ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ήμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ
ἀπεκτείναμέν τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προύθυμήθημεν λα-
βεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν
χρησαίμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἥλεγχον
διαλαβόντες εἰ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. ὁ
μὲν οὖν ἔτερος οὐκ ἔφη, μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομέ-
νων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὄρῶντος τοῦ ἐτέρου

κατεσφάγη. 24. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίους πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ εἰ τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. Ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὑπλιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἀν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὑπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος Ἀρκὰς, καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔφονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. 28. ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοὺς ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

II. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δείλη ἥδη, οἵ δὲ ἐκέλευνον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δήσαντες παραδιδόσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν σύκτα, ἦν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πᾶν δῆτας ἔναι εἰπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανερὰν ἐκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ώς ἀν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπόρευοντο πληῆθος ώς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανερὰν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτη τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ώς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιεόντες. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλα-

κει, ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὅρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, ὃν φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφευδούσι· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἷόν τ’ ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ φοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνύριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι’ ὅλης τῆς υπερβολῆς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ’ ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.

5. Οἱ δ’ ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύκλῳ περιόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακανόντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ’ ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. οἱ δὲ οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ’ ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὗτη ὁδὸς, ἐφ’ ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν υὔκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν, ἐπορεύοντο συγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλῃ ἐγένετο, ὥστ’ ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴδοι ἀλλήλους, ἢ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφέγγετο, καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἵεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν, φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὕκωνι γὰρ ἤσαν. 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφου, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἵεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανερὰν ὁδὸν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἢ ἔτυχον ἔκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοὺς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Μενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο

γῆπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδωτάτη γαρ ἦν τοῖς ὑπο-
ξυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὅπισθεν τῶν ὑποξυγίων ἔταξε.

10. Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ,
κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἀνάγκη
ἢ διεζένχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀν
ἐπορεύθησαν γῆπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποξύγια οὐκ ἢ ἄλλῃ ἢ
ταύτῃ ἐκβήναι. **11.** ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλους,
προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὄρθιοι τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ
κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰς βού-
λοιντο φεύγειν. **12.** καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας,
ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἔκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον,
ἔγγυς δὲ οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον.
καὶ τοῦτον τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ "Ἑλληνες, καὶ ἔτερον
ὄρώσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθις
ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. **13.** Ἐννοήσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μὴ, εἰ
ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἥλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες
οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιθοῦντο τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις παριοῦσιν,— ἐπὶ
πολὺ δὲ τὰ ὑποξύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευό-
μενα,— καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον
Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναίον, καὶ Ἀμφικρύτην Ἀμφιδόμου
Ἀθηναίον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργείον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν
τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ
αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἴροντιν. **14.** Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς
τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν, πολὺ ὄρθιώτατος, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ
τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθε-
λοντῶν. **15.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγγυς ἐγένοντο οἱ "Ἑλληνες, λείπου-
σιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστὸν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν
πᾶσι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπώπτευον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλω-
θέντες πολιορκοῦντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου
καθορῶντες τὰ ὅπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅπι-
σθοφύλακας ἔχώρουν. **16.** καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεω-

τάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν, καὶ προ-ελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὥμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἰπε.

17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνάσκη Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἄλλομενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὅπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. **18.** ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξύμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουν ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Εενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἔρμηνέως περὶ σπουδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπήτει. **19.** οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ὧ μὴ κάγειν τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Εενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῆι, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύσαν. **20.** ἐνταῦθα ἵσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἵεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Εενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Εενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστῆς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν. **21.** Εύρυλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὺς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ, ὁ πλάτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῦν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον. **22.** Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὄμοιν ἐγένετο τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέστι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἰχον. **23.** Εενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἱγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοὺς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδρύσιν ἀγαθοῖς.

24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίου προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλυντο τὰς παροδούς. **25.** ὅπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, θενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὅρη ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρῳ πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων· **26.** ὅπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθύντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρῳ γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων, ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν· καὶ ἀεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἴσχυρῷς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. **27.** ἦν δὲ καὶ ὅπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνοντες· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. **28.** ἀριστοὶ δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἰχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὅπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἔχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπιδῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἔχρωντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρῆτες χρησιμώτατο ἐγένοντο. ἥρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

III. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμὸν, εὑρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, δις ὁρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἀσμενοι, ἵδοντες πεδίον· ἀπεῖχε δὲ τῶν ὄρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ ἣ ἐπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. **2.** τότε μὲν οὖν ηὐλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τἀπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μιημονεύοντες. ἐπταγὰρ ἡμέρας, δσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ δσα οὐδὲ

τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἥδεως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. "Αμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁρῶσιν ἵππεας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὅχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἵππέων, ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. **4.** ἡσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὁρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δὲ εἰχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. **5.** αἱ δὲ ὅχθαι αὐται, ἐφ' ᾧ παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἡσαν, τρία ἡ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῦχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἡ ὄρωμένη ἦν ἀγουστα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτη ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ "Ελληνες. **6.** ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, — καὶ οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τάλλα βέλη, — ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. **7.** Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἡσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνοντιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὅπισθεν. **8.** ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὅντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὅναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὑπόσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἐσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὅναρ. **9.** ὁ δὲ ἥδετί τε καὶ ὡς τά-

χιστα ἔως ὑπέφαινεν, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρῆγελλον τὴν στρατιὰν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

10. Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκων γέρεσαν γάρ πάντες ὅτι ἔξειή αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ εἰ καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

11. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ώς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κάπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν, ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἴματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. **12.** ἵδοντι δέ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἵππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. ἐκδύντες δὲ ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ώς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὸν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἴμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. **13.** Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπειδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς φίνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὄνειρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτα. **14.** ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἀν κύλλιστα διαβαίνειν, καὶ τούς τε ἐμπροσθεν νικῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπισθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. **15.** καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσσοφον μὲν ἤγεισθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ

καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἥγοῦντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.

17. Πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἵππέων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὅχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρώτος Χειρίσοφος, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς, ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πᾶσι παρῆγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὄρθιους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. **18.** καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντεις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ᾽ οὕπω ἔξικνούντο. **19.** ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι· πολλαὶ γάρ ἡσαν ἔταιραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι. **20.** Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὅπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτη διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τυὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἵππέας. **21.** οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὄρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφου εὐπτετῶς τὸ ὄδωρ περῶντας, ὄρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέουντας εἰς τούμπαλιν, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθείσαν, φεύγοντιν ἀνὰ κράτος, ώς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἐκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. **22.** Λύκιος δὲ ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἵππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφου, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἴποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. **23.** Χειρίσοφος δὲ αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἵππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὅχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς

ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὥρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππέας φεύγοντας, ὥρῶντες δὲ ὅπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

24. Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἔώρα καλῶς γυγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδούχοι φανεροὶ ἦδη ἡσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. **25.** καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατέχει, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. **26.** καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὅπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἔκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχουν, παρ' ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἔναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. **27.** Οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι ὡς ἔώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἦδη φανομένους, θâττον δὴ ἐπήγεσαν ὡδάς τινας ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιέιν ὅ τι ἀν παραγγέλλῃ. **28.** ἴδων δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας, ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δὲ ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. **29.** τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνη ἐξικνῆται καὶ ἀσπὶς ψιφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

ό σαλπικτής σημήνη τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ήγεισθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα, ἢ ἔκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἰχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, δις ἀν πρώτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. 30. οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι, ὁρῶντες ὄλιγους ἥδη τοὺς λοιποὺς, — πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων φύχοντο, ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δὲ ἑταῖρῶν, — ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἥρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31. οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἥσαν ώπλισμένοι ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάττουν, οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες τάναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μέν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὄλιγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔτι φανέροι ἥσαν φεύγοντες. 34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἔτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίον ἄπαι καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μέίον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἥσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κώμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βασίλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δὲ ἦν δαψιλῆ. 3. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος

ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαΐδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δὲ οὐ κώμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν. 4. ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. 5. παραχρος δὲ ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενούμενος, καὶ ὅποτε παρείη, οὐδὲν ἄλλος βασιλεά ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 6. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἵππεας ἔχων, καὶ προτέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιτο διαλεχθῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας. τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκουον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι. 7. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτε ἐκείνους κάσιν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τάπιτήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαΐδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασίλεια καὶ κώμας πέριξ πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. 8. στρατοπεδευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὰν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκῆνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἔώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σύνους παλαιοὺς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὅσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκέδανυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδουεν στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνηλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. 11. νυκτερευόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθ' ἐπιπίπτει χιὰν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ

ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιῶν· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιῶν ἐπιπεπτωκῦνα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυείη. 12. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος, ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος, ἐσχίζειν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκανον καὶ ἔχριόντο· 13. πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὑρίσκετο χρῆμα, φέροντο ἀντ' ἐλαίουν, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὑρίσκετο.

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἥδονῇ γέσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήγεσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. 15. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γάρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἥδη ἀληθεύσαμεν τοιαῦτα, τὰ δόντα τε ὡς δόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ δόντα ὡς οὐκ δόντα. 16. Πορευθεὶς δὲ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἴδειν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἥκειν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σώγαριν οἴλαντερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. 17. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἱ δὲ ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὁπόσον τε εἴη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. ὁ δὲ εἰπεν ὅτι Τιριβάζος εἴη, ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὅρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ὥπερ μοναχῇ εἴη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς "Ελλησιν. 19. ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα

συναγαγέν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατη-
γὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μένουσι Σοφαιάνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο
ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἀνθρωπον. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὅρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ, προϊόντες καὶ κατί-
δόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὄπλιτας, ἀλλ’
ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 21. οἱ δὲ βάρ-
βαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ’ ἔφευ-
γον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ
ἵπποι ἥλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἑάλω,
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίναι ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτο-
κόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν στρατηγοὶ, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς
γένοιτο τοὺς καταλειμμένους. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι
τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον.

V. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναντο
τάχιστα, πρὶν συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν, καὶ κατα-
λαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο
διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθη-
μερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ὧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι
Τιρίβαζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύ-
θησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πεντεκαΐδεκα,
ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχό-
μενοι πρὸς τὸν ὄμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ
πρόσω εἶναι. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς
καὶ πεδίου, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πέντε. ὁ δὲ τρί-
τος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς, καὶ ἀνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπιεν,
παντάπασιν ἀποκύνων πάντα καὶ πηγυνὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
4. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεών τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ,
καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανώς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ

χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυεά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.
5. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ κώντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψει προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἤκουντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ κώντες οὐ προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὄψιζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς, ἢ ἄλλο τι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν.
6. ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὡν εἶχον ἔκαστοι. ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκάστο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὖν δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.
7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίασαν. Εενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἤγνοει ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη.
8. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἴπει τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι, κἄν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιών περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ πού τι ὄρφη βρωτὸν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφύγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.

9. Πορευομένων δὲ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τὴν κρήνη γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος.
10. αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶνεν. ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἴπει περιστὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγγην. οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὄψει ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἐρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις.
11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὄδον

ένυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. **12.** Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαξον, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἵ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς, οἵ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. **13.** ἦν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὄφθαλμοὺς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῦτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. **14.** ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἴμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγυννυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἡσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. **15.** Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλεοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἴκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ τετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἡ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ. ἐνταῦθι ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. **16.** οἱ δὲ Σενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἥσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἔχαλέπαινεν. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευνον· οὐ γὰρ ἀν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. **17.** ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίσιεν τοῖς κάμνοντις, καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἥδη, οἱ δὲ προσήσαν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἴχον διαφερόμενοι. **18.** ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι δείσαντες ἤκαν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

19. Καὶ Ἑενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἥξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπανομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιονὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῦεν. **20.** ὁ δὲ παριὼν, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἵσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλῦν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελοι ὅτι δόλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. **21.** ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἑενοφῶντα ηὐλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἀνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὺς οἵας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, οἱ μὲν Ἑενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι. **22.** ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ, ἀσμενοὶ ἴδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτους παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἥσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἐνθα Χειρίσοφος ηὐλίζετο. **23.** ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἀς ἔώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἔκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. **24.** Ἐνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφίεναι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὑζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἦν εἰλήχει Ἑενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πώλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἐπτακαΐδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐνύτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγὼς ὥχετο θηράσων, καὶ οὐχ ἥλω ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. **25.** αἱ δὲ οἰκίαι ἥσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὕσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δὲ εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ

εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποξυγίοις ὥρυκται, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποι κατέβανον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἡσαν αἶγες, οἰες, βάες, ὄρυθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῷ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. 26. ἡσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὅσπρια καὶ οὖνος κριθίνος ἐν κρατῆρσιν. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὰi αἱ κριθαὶ ἴσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες. 27. τούτους δὲ ἔδει ὁπότε τις διψώῃ λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἀκρατος ἦν, εἰ μή τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν. 28. Ο δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεπλήσσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίστιν, ἦν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνηται, ἐστ' ἀν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένεωνται. 29. ο δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνέετο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες, οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

30. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κάμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐώχουμένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθείεν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· 31. οὐκ ἦν δὲ ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἀρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὄρνιθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. 32. ὁπότε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἶλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύνθαντα ἔδει ρόφοιντα πύνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ο δὲ ἄλλο

μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δέ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κάκεύνους σκηνοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ἔηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνους, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παιδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεός ὃ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. 34. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐφίλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζουντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνι οἱ ὄπποι τρέφοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἡ εἴη. 35. καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὅχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ὄππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαίτερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθύσαι, ὅτι ἥκουσεν αὐτὸν ἵερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πώλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἀλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πώλουν. 36. ἡσαν δὲ οἱ ταύτη ὄπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολύ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ὄππων καὶ τῶν ὑποξυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρός.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχῃ, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκουντος· τοῦτον δὲ Ἐπισθένει Ἀμφιπολίτη παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ώς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἥδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος

αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἥγαγεν. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δὲ οὗ. 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶς ὤχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν οἶνον. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κύκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθέντις δὲ ἡράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἔχρητο. 4. Μετὰ τούτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπτὰ σταθμοὺς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμὸν, εὐρος πλεθριαίνον. 5. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐπεὶ κατέδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὄπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὅδε· Οἱ μὲν πολέμοι, ὡς ὄράτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὡρα δὲ βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλεύεσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς τάχιστα ἴέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἵ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὄρῶντες πολέμοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

10. Μετὰ τούτου Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω γνώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βου-

λόμεθα ώς ῥάστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτο μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ώς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. **11.** τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἔστι τὸ ὄρωμενον πλέον ἡ ἐφ' ἔξηκοντα στάδια, ἀνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν πολὺ οὖν κρείττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλεψαὶ τι πειράσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθύσαντας, ἦν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἵσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. **12.** πολὺ γὰρ ῥάσην ὄρθιον ἀμαχεὶ ἱέναι ἡ ὄμαλες ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὅντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεὶ μᾶλλον ἀν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὄρώη τις ἡ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεὶ ἰούσιν εὑμενεστέρα ἡ ὄμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. **13.** καὶ κλεψαὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἔξον μὲν νυκτὸς ἱέναι, ώς μὴ ὄρασθαι, ἔξον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ώς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δὲ ἄν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἀν τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. **14.** ἀτὰρ τί ἔγω περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὡς Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἔστε τῶν ὄμοιών, εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. **15.** ὅπως δὲ ώς κράτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειράσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἔστιν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρός ἔστιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ώς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κάγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μᾶλα ὅντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν

άξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.

17. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, οὐέναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἕάνπερ ἀπαξ λάβθωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται.

18. ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ ἵσον. **19.** Οὐ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε. Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ οὐέναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφύλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἀν μή τινες ἐθέλουσι φάνωνται. **20.** Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστέας Χίος γυμνῆτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οίταιος γυμνῆτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅπότε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ κάειν πολλά. **21.** ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρύστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προτίγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκούῃ ταύτη προσάξειν.

22. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νὺξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὠχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἥσθοντο ἔχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαστον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός.

23. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπῆγεσαν. **24.** τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μερος δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπῆκτα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὅμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλήγων, συμμιγνύσιον οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικώσιν οἱ "Ἐλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. **25.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου

οἱ μὲν πελταστὰὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὄπλίταις. 26. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἀ οἱ "Ἑλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. 27. ὡς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἥλθον.

VII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλυπτε· χωρία γὰρ φύκουν ἵσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκουντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδὲ οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δὲ ἡσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήην πολλὰ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήσει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἄλλα ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλῳ. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εενοφῶν ἥλθε σὺν τοῖς ὄπισθιοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὄπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἴς καλὸν ἥκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἱρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατῷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληφόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 4. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Εενοφῶντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἰπεν δὲ Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδός ἔστιν ἦν ὄρφας· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτη πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλίνδουσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· δις δὲ ἀν καταληφθῆ, οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμα δὲ ἔδειξε συντετριμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 5. Ἡν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη δὲ Εενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἡ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὄρῶμεν εἰ μὴ

όλιγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἡ τρεῖς ὠπλι-
σμένους. **6.** τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὄφας, σχέδον τρία
ἡμίπλευρά ἔστιν, ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. τούτου δὲ
ὅσον πλέθρον δασὸν πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ'
ῶν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἀν πάσχοιεν ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων
λίθων ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἥδη γύρε-
ται ὡς ἡμίπλευρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παρα-
δραμεῖν. **7.** Ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὰν
ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὸν προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί.
Αὐτὸν ἀν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἶη· θάττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς
λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῶν μικρόν τι παραδρα-
μένι ἔσται, ἦν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἦν βουλώ-
μεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ
Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία
ἥν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οἱ δὲ
ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τούτο οὖν
ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ
ἀθροίοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἵνα, ἔκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο.
9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἄριστώνυμος Μεθυ-
δριεὺς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὅντες, καὶ
ἄλλοι δὲ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές
ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλέον ἡ τὸν ἵνα λόχον. **10.** ἔνθα
δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέν-
δρου ἵφ' ὡς ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἡ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι
φέροιστο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετώς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς
πλέον ἡ δέκα ἄμμαξαι πετρῶν ἀντιλίσκοντο. **11.** ὁ δὲ
Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὄφα τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἀ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στρά-
τευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς
τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἄριστώνυμον πλησίον ὅντα παρακα-
λέσας, οὔτε Εύρύλοχον τὸν Λουσία, ἐταίρους ὅντας, οὔτε

ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας.
12. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ως ὄρᾳ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵνου· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τούτον Εύρυλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἄλλολους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἴροντι τὸ χωρίον, ώς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἡμέχθη.
13. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναικες, ρίππουσαι τὰ παιδία, εἴτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἴδων τινα θέοντα ώς ρίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ώς κωλύσων. **14.** ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπάται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοί, καὶ πρόβατα.

15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων, σταθμοὺς ἐπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἡσαν ὡν διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χείρας ησαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἱτροῦν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. **16.** εἶχον δὲ καὶ κυνηγίδας καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὃσον ξυήλην Λακωνικήν, ὡς ἐσφαττον ὡν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἀν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἥδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὅπότε οἱ πολέμοι αὐτοὺς ὅψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ώς πεντεκαΐδεκα πίχεων, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν. **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ "Ελληνες, εἴποντο ἀεὶ μαχόμενοι. ὥκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἀλλὰ διετρύφησαν τοὺς κτήνεις ἀ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

18. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ "Ελληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ "Αρπασον

ποταμὸν, εὐρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν, σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἐμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεστίσαντο. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν διῆλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἥ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑστῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. **20.** ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἀξεῖ αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον δύθεν ὅφονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἱθειν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· φέρε καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἔνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων εὐνοίας.

21. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἡνὶ Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θύλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. **22.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὄπισθοφύλακες φόβοντας ἐμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἴποντο γὰρ καὶ ὅπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὄπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγρησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βιούν ὡμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. **23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ βιώντας, καὶ πολλῷ μεῖζων ἐγίγνετο ἡ βοὴ δῆσφι δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μεῖζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· **24.** καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππου, καὶ Δύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούοντι βιώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θύλαττα, Θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυώντων.. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὄπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια ἡλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. **25.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφέκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἄλλων

λους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἔξαπί-
νης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους
καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. ἐνταῦθα ἀνετίθεσαν δερ-
μάτων πλῆθος ὡμοβοείων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αὐχμάλωτα
γέρρα, καὶ ὁ γήγεμὸν αὐτός τε κατέτεμεν τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ "Ελ-
ληνες ἀποπέμπουσι, δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κουνοῦ, ἵππον καὶ
φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα.
ἷτε δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὖν σκηνήσουσι,
καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν πορεύονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα
ἐγένετο, φέροντες τὴν νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ "Ελληνες διὰ Μα-
κρώνων, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασήγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ
ἡμέρᾳ ὑφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὥριζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώ-
νων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. ἔλχον δὲ ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον
οίνον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, εἰς ὃν
ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὄρίζων, δὶ οὖν ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος
δασὸς δένδρεσιν, παχέσι μὲν οὖν, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ
προσῆλθον οἱ "Ελληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου
ώς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέρρα
καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, καταντιπέρας τῆς δια-
βάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο
καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτοντες. ἐξικνοῦντο δὲ οὖν,
οὐδὲ ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4. Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Εενοφῶντι τῶν πελτα-
στῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι
γυμνώσκοι τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἴμαι, ἔφη,
ἔμην ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω
αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ
διαλέγον καὶ μάθε πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ εἰπον ἐρωτή-

σαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντιτετάχαται καὶ χρῆζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἰναι. **6.** Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο· Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἔρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. **7.** ἡρώτων ἐκείνοι εἴ δοῖεν ἀν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδάσσουν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγιγην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικήν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφότεροι.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποίουν ὡς διαβιβάσοντες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι· καὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. **9.** ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φύλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἐπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλεύσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. **10.** Ἐλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὄρθιον ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐδον εύρησομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, δταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὄρωσιν. **11.** ἐπειτα ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιπτεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιπτοῖς χρήσονται ὅτι ἀν βούλωνται· ἐαν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπείη ἡμῶν ἡ φύλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δέ πη τοῦτο

ἔσται, τῇ δλη φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. **12.** αλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὄρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλείποντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσουν ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἐσχάτοι λόχοι, καὶ ὄρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρώτοι προσίασιν, ἢ τε ἀν εύδον ἦ, ταύτη ἔκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. **13.** καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλεῖπον οὐ ράδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ράδιον ἔσται λόχον ὄρθιον προσιόντα· εάν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῆ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδὲν μηκέτι μείνη τῶν πολεμίων. **14.** ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὄρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· "Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὥρατε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ ἥδη εἴναι ἔνθα πάλαι ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ωμοὺς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἔκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὄρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὄπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὄγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἔκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐώνυμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἔξακοσίους ἐκάστους. **16.** Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὑχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· **17.** οἱ δὲ πολέμοις ώς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντιπαραβέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάσθησαν καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. **18.** ἴδοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταὶ, ὃν ἦρχεν

Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὅπλιτικὸν, ὃν ἥρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὁρχομένιος. **19.** οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τάπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἔχονταις. **20.** Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν ὅ τι καὶ ἔθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονες τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἥμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὄρθος οὐδεὶς ἥδυνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἑόδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφίκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

21. ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὕσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτήν που ὕραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτη δὲ καὶ τετάρτη ἀνίσταντο ὕσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας ἐπτὰ, καὶ ἥλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζούντα, πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὔξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σιωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· κάντεῦθεν ὄρμώμενοι ἐληγύζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. **23.** ἀγορὰν δὲ παρεῖχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζούντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἐλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἐδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ οἶνον.

24. συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἥλθον βόες.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἦν εὑξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο· ἥλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἴκανοί βόες ἀποθύσαι τῷ Δὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

ἀ εὐξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὅρει ἔνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν. εἴλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὡν οἰκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακανὼν ξυήλῃ πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμελθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. 26. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευνον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπερ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δὲ εἶπε, Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάστεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἱχμαλώτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρῆτες πλείους ἢ ἔξικοντα ἔθεον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἔτεροι. καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἀτε θεωμένων τῶν ἑταίρων, πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγήγνετο. 28. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ὕπποι, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας, πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἀγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδούντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἵσχυρῶς ὅρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὕπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγήγνετο αὐτῶν.

II. FALL AND RESTORATION OF ATHENS.

[*Hellenica, II.*]

II. 3. 'Εν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παρύλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐστι διῆκεν, ὁ ἔτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ

μόνου τους ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαιέας, καὶ Σκιωναίους, καὶ Τορωναίους, καὶ Αἰγινητας, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 4. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας ἀποχώσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς, καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φύλακας ἐφιστάναι, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὡς ἐς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἥσαν.

5. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον, κατεσκευάσατο τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ Μιτυλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, δις τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. 6. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, πλὴν Σαμίων. οὗτοι δὲ, σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιῆσαντες, κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. 7. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγύν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμονα, ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξήσαν πανδημὲ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι, πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγεῖλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέων, Παυσανίου. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντες ἥθροισθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. 9. Λύσανδρος δὲ, ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἴγιναν, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηγώσας Σαλαμῖνα, ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἱργε τοῦ εἴσπτλου.

10. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἡπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὕτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμά-

χων αὐτοῖς ὅντων, οὕτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τού μὴ παθεῖν ἀ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ δὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἔτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. 11. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτέμους ποιήσαντες, ἐκαρτέρουν· καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν, οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἥδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι ξύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. 12. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαιμονα ἐκέλευεν ἴέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαιμονα. 13. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἥσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ ἐπύθοντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἔφοροι ἀ ἔλεγον, ὅντα οἵα περ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευν ἀπιέναι, καὶ, εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους. 14. Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἥκουν οἴκαδε, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμίᾳ ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· φῶντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεοθαι, καὶ, ἔως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἔτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. 15. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο ξυμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ, εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλούντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· (προεκαλούντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἐκάτερον·) ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων ξυμβουλεύειν.

16. Τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων, Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἑκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἦξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμψθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ

πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελουπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἀπαντα, ὃ τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν.

17. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκε τῷ τετάρτῳ μηνὶ, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὃτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύοι ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν ιέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὁν ἐρωτώτῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἥρεθη πρεσβευτὴς ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.

18. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις ἔπειμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ’ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὅντα, ὃτι ἀποκρίνατο Θηραμένη ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. **19.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις, ἐπεὶ ἡσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἥκοιεν, εἰπον ὃτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης. μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἐφόροι καλέντες ἐκέλευν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἧ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ’ ἔξαιρεν. **20.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένους τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀλλ’ ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην, ἐφ’ ὃ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας, τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλουν νομίζοντας, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεισθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, ὅποι ἀν ἥγωνται. **21.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέροντο ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅχλος περιεχέντο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀπράκτοι ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. **22.** Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγειλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ’ οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν.

ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολλῷ δὲ πλειόνων ξυνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. **23.** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ φιγώδεις κατήεσαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

III. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἔτει — ἐν φέτῃ Ὁλυμπίᾳ, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλὸς, Εύδίου ἐν Σπάρτη ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλυγαρχίᾳ ἥρεθη, οὐκ ὄνομαζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλούσιν· ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλυγαρχία ὡδε — **2.** ἔδοξε τῷ δῆμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, ὃν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι· καὶ ἥρεθησαν οὗτοι, Πολυμάρχης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὔκλειδης, Ἰέρων, Μηνσίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναιτίος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὄνομακλῆς, Θέογνης, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εύμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μηνσιθείδης. **3.** Τούτων δὴ πραχθέντων, ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον· Ἀγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα, διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστους. . . .

11. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἥρεθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὧτε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὖστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἄρχας κατέστησαν, ὡς ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς. **12.** Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ἔδεσσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὅντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θαυμάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἵ τε

ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἔχοντο. **13.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἀν
έξειη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου
πρῶτον μὲν, πέμψαντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνη τε καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλην, ἐπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμ-
πράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἔως δὴ, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμε-
νοι, καταστήσαντο τὴν πολιτείαν. θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπι-
σχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον
ἀρμοστὴν ξυνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον
ἐθεράπευνον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἢ πράτ-
τοιεν· τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου ξυμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς
ἔβούλοντο, ξυνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ
ὅλιγουν ἀξίους, ἀλλ’ ἥδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρω-
θουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας
πλείστους ἀν τοὺς ξυνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. **15.** Τῷ μὲν
οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε
καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολ-
λοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἄτε καὶ φυγὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηρα-
μένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις
ἐτιμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν
κακὸν εἰργάζετο· Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ
τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν.
16. Οἱ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἔχρητο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέ-
λεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροί τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βούλομένοις, μὴ
οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ
δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἥττον τι οἴει, ὥσ-
περ τυραννίδος, ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι,
εὐήθης εἰ.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως,
πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ξυνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τι

ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης, ὅτι, εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἵκανοὺς λήφοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαιμένειν. **18.** ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἥδη φοβούμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρεείσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν·οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. **19.** ὁ δὲ αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἄποτον δοκοίη ἔαυτῷ εἶναι, τὸ πρώτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους; ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνύγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὗτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους, οὕτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἵον τε εἴη γενέσθαι. Ἐπειτα δὲ, ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ὑμᾶς τὰ ἔναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζόμενους. **20.** Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ ἔξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἐπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν φέρεντοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὅπλα πάντων, πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, παρείλοντο· καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ξυνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

21. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξον ἥδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. **22.** Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι, φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι, ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ, παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἴων· ήμεις δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν

μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὡς χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; 23. Οἱ δ', ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλοιντο, ἐπιθυ-
λεύσονταν αὐτῷ, καὶ ᾧδια πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς
ἄλλον διέβαλλον, ὡς λυμανόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ
παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκους, δι' ἕδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι
εἶναι, ἔιφεδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, ξυνέλεξαν
τὴν βουλὴν. 24. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ
Κριτίας, ἔλεξεν ὡδε-

*Ω ἄνδρες βουλευταὶ, εἰ μέν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθηῆσκεν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι, διά τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστου χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθρύ-
φθαι. 25. ἡμεῖς δὲ, γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷσις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕποτ'
ἄν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἀν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν,
διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολι-
τείαν καθίσταμεν. 26. καὶ ἐίν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, δόσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτη τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι.
27. Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τούτον, οἰς δύναται,
ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοήτη, εὐρήσετε οὗτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμέ-
νους τουτοῦ τὰ παρόντα, οὗτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ
ἐκποδὼν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ
μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἀν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο. 28. ιῦν δὲ,—

αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἔξορμότας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, — νῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμέis καὶ ἡμέis φανερῶs ἔχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γυγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπωs αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμέis δὲ δίκην δῶμen τῶn πeπpрагménωn. 29. ὥστe oύ μόνoν ωs ἔχθρo aύtῷ ppoσtήkεi, ἀllά kai ωs ppoδoτη n̄mān tē kai ἡmān, didoñai t̄n δíkēn. kaītōi t̄soñt̄f mēn deinóteron ppoδo-
sia ppolémoi, ñsw xalepwteron fwláxasθai tō āfañes tōn fanañeo. t̄soñt̄f ñsw ppolémoi mēn ānþra-
p̄oi kaī spen̄donata añv̄is, kaī pīst̄oi gýgnontai. ñn ð ān ppoδidónta l̄am̄bánwsi, t̄oñt̄f oñte ēsp̄eisato p̄wpt̄ oñdeis, oñt̄ ēp̄ist̄euSe tōn loipou. 30. "Iva d̄ ēd̄h̄t̄e
ñti oú kaiñà t̄añta oñt̄o p̄oie, ἀllá fýse ppoδoτ̄eis ēst̄in,
añamn̄s̄w n̄mās t̄a t̄oñt̄f p̄ept̄ragménā. oñt̄o ḡar, ēx
ār̄ch̄s̄ mēn t̄imám̄evo n̄p̄o tōn d̄m̄ou kata t̄oñ p̄at̄éra
Āgn̄wna, p̄ropet̄est̄at̄o ēḡen̄eto t̄n d̄m̄okrat̄iañ m̄eta-
st̄h̄s̄ai ēis tōn t̄et̄rakosíou, kaī ēpr̄wteue n̄ ēkeñivoi.
ēp̄ei ð ñs̄h̄et̄o añt̄ipalón t̄i t̄h̄ òl̄igap̄h̄ia ñsunis̄t̄ám̄evoi,
p̄r̄wtois añ ñygeñm̄oñ t̄w d̄m̄o ēp̄ ēkeñivoi ēḡen̄eto. 31. ñthei
d̄p̄ou kaī kóthorv̄o ēp̄ikaleit̄ai. kaī ḡar ō kóthorv̄o ār-
mōtt̄eiv mēn tōn p̄oñm̄ āmfot̄erois d̄ok̄e, āp̄obl̄ep̄ei ð ēp̄
āmfot̄ero. d̄ei d̄e, ñ Th̄r̄am̄eves, añdra tōn āxiou ñh̄n oú
p̄roñyeiñ mēn deinòñ eñnai ēis p̄r̄ygm̄ata tōn ñsunón̄ta, ñn
d̄e t̄i añt̄ikópt̄, eñth̄s̄ metabállesth̄ai. ἀll̄' ñsp̄er ēn vñj̄
diap̄ouñs̄th̄ai, ñw̄s̄ ñn ēis oñv̄oñ katast̄w̄s̄iñ. ēi d̄e m̄h̄, p̄w̄s̄
ñn āfíkouñt̄o p̄ote eñtha d̄e, ēi, ēp̄eñd̄an t̄i añt̄ikóph̄, eñth̄s̄
ēs̄ t̄añant̄ia pl̄eóiv; 32. Kaī eñs̄i mēn d̄p̄ou p̄âs̄ai metab-
olaī p̄oliteiñv ñanat̄ph̄oř̄oi. s̄n d̄e, dià t̄o eñmetáþolos̄
eñnai, pl̄eis̄tois mēn metabít̄o ēi ēx òl̄igap̄h̄iañ n̄p̄o tōn

δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. Οὗτος δέ τοί ἔστιν, ὃς, ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος, ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη. 33. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέπομενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτου ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα, καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

34. 'Ως δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γάρ δήπον δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείσι πείθεσθαι, φέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἀν οὔεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάστης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε· ὡς οὗτος, σωθεὶς μὲν, πολλοὺς ἀν μέγα φρονεών ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γυγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν· ἀπολόμενος δὲ, πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἀν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· 'Αλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἔμον ἐίπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἥρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγουν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἔφασαν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν, οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος, ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ δτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἐαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἔφα-

νουτο· φάσκοντες γὰρ οἱόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι, ἀποπλέοντες φέρουντο. 36. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανευομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλικέν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. 37. ὃν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἔκει ἐπραττε, μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογώ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῶν ἴσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν. ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν, οἷμαι ἀν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἡ νῦν πράττει ἔκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. 38. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι ἐς τὴν βουλείαν, καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, πάντες ταῦτα ἐγυγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἡρξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κάγαθοὺς ξυλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου κάγὼ ἡρξάμην τάνατία τούτοις γιγνώσκειν. 39. ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκούντος ἵκαγον εἶναι, ἀδικούντος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ δόμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσοιντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι, ξυλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ δόμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ὑμῶν γενήσοιντο. 40. ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑψὸν ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, δις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ὑμῶν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὑδῆλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι, τούτων ἀπολομένων, καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἄπαντες πολέμοιο τῇ πολιτείᾳ

έσοιντο. 41. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρρυοῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γάρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἔώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περιστῶσαι ήμᾶς, ὅπως, ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι, μηδὲν δυναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὀφελεῖν· ἐξην γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν, ὀλίγοις ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιεσαντας. 42. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουρὸν μισθοῦσθαι ξυνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἔως ῥαδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. Ἐπει γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἔώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὕτε Θρασύβουλον οὕτε "Ανυτον οὕτε" Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἴσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιτο, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ξύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιτο. 43. Ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νοιθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πότερα εὐμενῆς ἀν δικαίως, ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὶς, ὡς Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξυμμάχοις πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἴσχυρούς ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες, καὶ προδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. 44. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὅδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον, καὶ "Ανυτον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας, ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἀν ἵνθιδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἂν οὕτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ξυμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἰχε, χαλεπὸν ἀν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. 45. "Α δὲ αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἷος ἀεὶ ποτε

μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἀν ἡ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. 46. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἑκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσται, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγοῦντες, φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐσ ὁ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, — εἰ ταῦτ' αὐσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; 47. Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν· δστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον — ὡ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν — τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. 48. ἐγὼ δ', ὡ Κριτία, ἑκείνοις μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἀν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι, καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἀν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν· καὶ τοῦδε γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἴμι, οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἀν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλυγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλύγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, καὶ μεθ' ὅππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν, πρόσθεν ἀριστον ἥγουμην εἶναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. 49. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὡ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ ξὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἡ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλούς τε κάγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῦν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐάν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἡ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων, ἡ πρότερον πώποτε ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἀν δικαίως ἀποθυήσκειν.

50. Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπάνσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δήλη ἐγένετο εὔμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ

ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα, ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὸ ἔγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς δρυφάκτοις. 51. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὁ βουλὴ, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὄρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπτωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω, καὶ γὰρ οἴδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὓς φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν λυμανόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὅντων μηδένα ἀποθυήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου· τῶν δὲ ἔξι τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτοῦν ἔξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ξυνδοκοῦν ἄπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔστιαν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἵκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἔξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ, μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ', ὅνπερ νόμοιν οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. 53. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὐτοὶ οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. Τμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν δυνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἡ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου.

54. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκένοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου, τοῦ θραστάτου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα-

διδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτοῦ, κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμές δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες, οἱ ἔνδεκα, οὐ δέ, τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράσσετε. 55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἰπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἰλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῦτο καὶ ὡθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γυγνόμενα. ή δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὄρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς δρυφάκτους ὄμοίους Σατύρῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν.

56. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν ρήμα καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ· ὡς εἰπεν ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἀν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; Καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν· Κριτίᾳ τούτῃ ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. Καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἦδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῦν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἥγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες, ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος, ὄρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα, Φυλὴν χωρίου καταλαμβάνει ἵσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σύν τε τοῖς τρισκιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἴππεῦσι, καὶ μάλ’ εὐημερίας οὖσῃς.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκουτο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. 3. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. 4. γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμψουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς, ὅσον πεντεκαΐδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς, καὶ τῶν ἵππεών δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ, ἐφύλαττον.

5. ‘Ο δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων ἐς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὃσον τρία ἡ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν, ἡσυχίαν εἰχεν. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο, ὅποι ἐδείτο ἔκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψάφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὄπλα, δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἔξ οὐ πέτα στάδια· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὄπλιτῶν πλέον ἡ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων Νικόστρατον τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. 7. ἐπαναχωρῆσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὃσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀστεος ἵππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον· προσμείναντες δὲ ἔως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκουντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

8. ’Εκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ

σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσῖνα ἔξιδιώσασθαι, ὃστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοὺς ἵππεῦσι, ἥλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἔξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἰεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευνον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἔξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἵππεας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δὲ ἔξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ξυνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ξυνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευσαν ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔνδεκα.

9. Τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀιδείον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὄπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππεας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· ‘Ημεῖς, ἔφη, ὡς ἀνδρες, οὐδὲν ἥττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῦ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὅσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν ξυνειλεγμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστὶν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρῆτε καὶ φοβήσθε. Δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον.

10. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, περὶ χιλίους ἥδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἥσθουντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὄπλίταις· ἐπειτα ἔχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. **11.** οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὧν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὕπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

ἄστεος εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὡστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδύδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὗτῳ δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἔχώρουν ἄνω. 12. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντανέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἡ εἰς δέκα ὅπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτύχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἤσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν φῷ δὲ προσήσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς, ἔλεξεν.

13. Ἀνδρες πολίται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξὶον ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψύμενοι ἐδιώξατε· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ δημάς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, καὶ οἰκιῶν ἔξηλανον, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηνται, οὐν οὗτοι μὲν οὕποτε φῶντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ εὐχόμεθα. 14. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ — ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες ξυνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα — νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γαρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων, ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαι διδόσαι. 15. καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίουν, ἐν φῷ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὅρθιον ἴεναι, δύναιντ' ἄν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐις τὸ κάταντες καὶ

δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους, ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. **16.** καὶ φέτο μὲν ἄν τις δέσσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἀν ύμεις, ὡσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδὸς, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὡσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν, ὅπου ἀν βουλώμεθα, καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. **17.** Ἀλλ', ὡς ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἔκαστος τις ἕαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αὐτιώτατος ὅν. αὗτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἀν θεός θέλη, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παιᾶς, οἵς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὡς μακύριοι δῆτα, διὰ ἀν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἀν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὅν καλοῦ τεύξεται. Ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἡνίκ' ἀν καιρὸς ἡ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνναλίον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ἀνθ' ὅν ὑβρίσθημεν, τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἡ πέσοι τις ἡ τρωθείη· Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς· νίκη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένη, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. **19.** καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τιὸς ἀγόμενος, ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιὲ δέκα ἀρχόντων, Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πόλλοι διελέγοντο.

20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ, ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ’ εὐφωνος ὡν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· "Ανδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἔξελαίνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἴερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ ξυγχορευταὶ καὶ ξυμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ ξυστρατιώται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. **21.** πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν, καὶ ξυγγενείας, καὶ κηδεστίας, καὶ ἑταῖρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις), αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, διὶδίων κερδέων ἔνεκα δλίγουν δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν, ἥ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. **22.** ἔξδον δ' ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὐτοὶ τὸν πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεός καὶ ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

'Ο μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. **23.** τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἕρημοι ξυνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ ξυνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τε βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ώς οὐ χρὴ καθυ-

φίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικη-
κέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον,
ώς οὐδὲν δέοιτο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα
οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι
τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν
καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι· καὶ εἴλοντο δέκα, ἕνα
ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ
δέκα τῶν ἐν ἀστεῖ, καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούν-
των ἀλλήλοις, σὺν τοῖς ἵππαρχοις ἐπεμέλουντο. ἔξεκάθευ-
δον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεις ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ, τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'
ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ὑσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὅρθον
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν τινες
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. **25.** Οἱ δὲ, πολλοί τε ἥδη
ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ
οἰστύνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέ-
σθαι, πιστὰ δόντες οἵτινες ξυμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἰεν,
ἰστοέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἔξεσθαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὄπλιται, πολλοὶ
δὲ γυμνῆτες (ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππεις ὡσεὶ ἑβδομή-
κοντα), προνομάς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ
ὅπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. **26.** τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
ἀστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἔξήσει, οἱ δὲ ἵππεις
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἔχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ
τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν
Αἰξωνέων τισὸν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέ-
σφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων
ἱππέων. **27.** ἀνταπέκτεινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἵπ-
πέων ἐπ' ἄγρον λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον, φυλῆς Λεοντίδος·
καὶ γὰρ ἥδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ

ἀστεος προσέβαλλον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀστει, ὃς, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμάξιαις λίθους ἄγειν, καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἔκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ ἐίς ἔκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

28. Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαιμονα, τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἀστεος, καὶ βοηθείν κελευόντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος, λογισάμενος ὅτι οὐδόν τε εἰη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείσαν, ξυνέπραξεν ἔκατον τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστὴν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. **29.** καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσίναδε, ξυνελέγετο ὄπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὗτος δὲ προχωρούντων, Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἄμα μὲν εὑδοκιμήσοι, ἄμα δὲ ἴδιας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν. **30.** συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν, ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐφροκέν ἀν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἐπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλούμενῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ, δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

31. Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιῇ, ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὥπεις μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὑμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὡν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξις ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἵππέων τρεῖς φυλὰς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῃ εὐαποτείχιστος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. **32.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες, καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἵππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιῇ θέατρον. **33.** ἐκεὶ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε πελασταὶ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ὄπλιται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἡκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἀμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. **34.** ὄρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὄπλιται ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. 'Ο δὲ Παυσανίας, μάλα πιεσθεὶς, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἦ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινὰ, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθείαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἤγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δὲ εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

35. Ο δὲ Παυσανίας τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδὲ ὡς ὥργιζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἴλα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Ἐφόρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπειθόντο. διύστῃ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.

36. ἡδέως ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας Ἐφόρος ὃν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γάρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν Ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὅντες, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονια προθύμως ἐπεμπον τούς τ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητου. **37.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι φύχοντο ἐς Λακεδαιμονια, ἐπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόοσι καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἀ τέχουσι, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. **38.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφόροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοί, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαΐδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπη δύναντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν, ἐφ' ὧτε εὐρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἔνδεκα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα· εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντα τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

39. Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων, Παυσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Θραυσύβουλος ἔλεξεν· **40.** Τμῦν, ἔφη, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γυνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δὲ ἀν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε, ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῶν μέγα φρονητέον ἔστιν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἔστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος, πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὁν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὅντες, πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῶν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἄνδρειᾳ ὑμῶν μέγα φρονητέον. **41.** καὶ τίς ἀν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο, ἡ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ φαίητ' ἀν προέχειν, οὐ, ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ξυμμάχους Πελοποννησίους, ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἔχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους δὴ οἰεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς; οἵ γε, ὃσπερ τὸν δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῷ δήσαντες παραδιδόσιν, οὕτω κάκείνοι, ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ, οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; **42.** οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὡν ὄμωμάσκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτο πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὔορκοι καὶ δσιοί ἔστε.

Εἴπων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταρύπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. **43.** καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τὸν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους, ἐπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὄμοσαντες ὅρκους, ἡ μὴ μηδ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄμοι τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

HERODOTUS.

I. INVASION OF GREECE BY DARIUS.

1. Βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρείφ ώς ἐξηγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, πρώτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ώς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγου ποιησάμενον, εἴρεσθαι οἵτινες εἰεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αὐτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα διὰτὸν, ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἴπειν, *Ω Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι·* εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ, ἐς τρὶς ἔκαστοτε εἰπεῖν, *Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.*

2. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τι ἐν νόφῃ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἔωντῷ ή παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὧν κήρυκας, ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐπεμπεῖ, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἔωντοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι. **3.** Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἥκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιώται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἵ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιώται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείφ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγαίηται. ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ιθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγαίητας δεδω-

κέναι, ώς ἂμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται. καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἴγινήτας.

4. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἔωστοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμμνήσκοντός τε αὐτὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνῆσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἂμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἔχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὅδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δάτιν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον· ἔωστον· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε, ἔξαιδρα ποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἀγαγεῖν ἔωστῷ εἰς ὅψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

5. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ήμέρας, ἔπλωον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίες ἐποίησαν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαι, καὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτο σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δέ σφεας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισιστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. 6. οὗτος δὴ ὥν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου, καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἂμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου, περὶ πολ-

λοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἄμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἥδη, τὸ ἐνθέutέν μιν οἱ ἔχθροι ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὗτος Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου.

7. Καὶ πρώτα μὲν, ἔόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναίοιν μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τούτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ (ώς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε) περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὐρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω, τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἑωτοῦ οὐδεμίᾳν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἔόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῆ γενομένου ἥδη σφι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναίοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἥδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ὃδύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίσι ἐπετέρησι καὶ λαμπάδι ἴλασκονται. **8.** Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἥν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἔλεγε· Ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναίοι νόμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῦν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἐλλησι δουλοσύνῃ περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἥνδρα πόδισται, καὶ πόλι λογίμῳ ἡ Ἐλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρη. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἔσαε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἥν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον.

ἢν γὰρ ἴσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἔξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαι, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἔόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μέν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.

9. Τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πειστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθώνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἵδων ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὡν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνείρου, κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα· **10.** τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἔξ· Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἴγιλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμικε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πτareūn τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἡ ὡς ἐώθεε, οἷα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἔόντι τῶν ὁδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσείοντο. τούτων ὡν ἔνα τῶν ὁδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βῆξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔφαίνετο οἱ ὁ ὁδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἰπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἃδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἔστι, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὄκοσον δέ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὁδὼν μετέχει. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταῦτη τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἔξεληλυθέναι.

11. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεί· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἥδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὅδε. πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρώτα παρατυχόνσι Κλεομένετ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· Ἡμέν μὲν ἔκαστέρω τε οἰκέο-

μεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἀν ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή· φθαιήτε γὰρ ἀν πολλάκις ἔξανδραποδισθέντες ἡ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἔοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὖνοιαν οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῦ.

12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἡπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἵρᾳ ποιεύντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι, ἵκεται ἴζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Πλαταιέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφι ἐβοήθεον. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιέδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες, ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, οὔρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοισίδε, ἔân Θηβαῖοις Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

13. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὔρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Τσιάς. ἐδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἥκουν δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

14. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβάλλειν, ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῆ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων. ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα (ἥν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν, τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὄμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρα-

τηγοίσι, ἢν τε τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφδναῖος) πρὸς τούτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· 15. 'Εν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας, ἡ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα, μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὐ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἥκουσι μέγιστον. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μῆδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίῃ· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὐτῇ ἡ πόλις, οἴη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. καὶ κῶς ὃν δὴ ταῦτα οἵα τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐις σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐόντων δέκα, δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβαλεῖν. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσούσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρίν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέρουσι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἵσα νεμόντων, οἷοί τέ εἰμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὃν πάντα ἐις σὲ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἐστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. 16. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτάται τὸν Καλλίμαχον. προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ώς ἕκαστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανῆτη τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδη πιρεεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐ τί κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανῆν ἐγένετο.

17. 'Ως δὲ ἐις ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὡδε Ἀθηναῖοι ώς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος

ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε
οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ
δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἡριθμέοντο αἱ
φυλαὶ, ἔχόμεναι ἀλλήλων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχον-
τες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ σφι
τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριας
τὰς ἐν τῇσι πενταετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ
Ἀθηναῖος, ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ
καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ, τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν
τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισού-
μενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο
ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατό-
πεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθεϊ. **18.** Ός δέ
σφι διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς
ἀπειθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους.
ἥσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἡ
ὸκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πίρσαι ὄρεοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευά-
ζοντο ὡς δεξιόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπίφερον
καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὄρεοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους
δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππους ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε το-
ξευμάτων. ταῦτα μέν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον. Ἀθη-
ναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι,
ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἐλλήνων πάν-
των τῶν ἡμένι ὕδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶ-
τοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὄρεοντες, καὶ τοὺς
ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἐλλησι καὶ
τὸ οὖνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. **19.** Μαχομένων δὲ
ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέ-
σον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε
αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ
βάρβαροι, καὶ ρήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ

κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες. συκῶντες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ρήξασι αὐτῶν, συνιαγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα, ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἴποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

20. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθὸς, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεως· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοί.

21. Ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιουτῷ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον, τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλων Σούνιοι, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἵτινη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ, συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐούσι τῇδη ἐν τῆσι νησούσι.

22. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων Σούνιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἰχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἐφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἦ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθώνῃ ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεῃ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῆσι νησὶν ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων), ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέπλων ὅπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

23. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθώνῃ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἔξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἐπεισον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσούτοις· συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι

τοιόνδε. Ἀθηναίον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω, ἐν τῇ συστάσι μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν, τῶν ὁμμάτων στρηθῆναι, οὕτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὕτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζόης διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡκουσα περὶ τοῦ πάθεος τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὅπλιτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φάσμα τούτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

24. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἡκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὗτω, ὥστε τριταῖον ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένενοτο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἴμείροντο ὅμως θηῆσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθηῆσαντο. μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὄπίσω.

II. MARCH OF XERXES.—PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἑτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σίτου καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων, ἡ

Ασίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 2. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀνγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δέει μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὗτο στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσης Δαρέος Ἐέρξεα, ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ύστερῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Εέρξεα. 3. Καὶ Εέρξης . . ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Εέρξης; κοινον δὲ πινόμενον μιν ὅδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γάρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἄμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῆτά τε καὶ νέας. 4. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλωόντων περὶ τὸν Ἀθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κον μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἀθων· ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεες, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὄρμεόμενοι ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δὲ ἐφοίτων· ὥρυσσον δὲ καὶ

οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀθων κατοικημένοι. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀθως ἐστὶ οὖρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐσ θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐσ τὴν ἥπειρον τὸ οὖρος, χερσονησοειδές τέ ἐστι καὶ ισθμὸς ὡς δυώδεκα σταδίων πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνὸν οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίνων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. 5. Ὄμρουσον δὲ ὁδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο βαθέα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὥρυσσον, ἔτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δὲ αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἔως ἀπίκοιτο ἐσ τοὺς ἀνωτάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεον τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος. 6. ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εύρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἴνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὄρυσσεν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὸν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ισθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὄρυσσεν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εὑρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλώειν ὅμοι ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσι περ καὶ τὸ ὅρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

7. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπας συλλειγμένος ἄμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐσ Σάρδις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὄρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἵρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ’ ἥπειρον μέλλοντα ἄμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐσ Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπτε κτύρικας ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλέϊ παρασκευάζειν.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν ἐσ Ἀβυδον.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔζεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τρηχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκονσα 'Αβύδῳ καταντίον. ἐς ταύτην ὡν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὄρμεόμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέστο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δὲ ἑτέρην τὴν βυθιλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἔζευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψε τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. 9. ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος. ἥδη δὲ ἥκουσα, ώς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξουτας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὡν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. 10. Οἱ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, διτὶ μιν ἥδικησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἥν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἥν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων θύει, ώς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ. Τήν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξῃ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμέν τὰς κεφαλάς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσεκέστο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἔζεύγνυσαν. ἔζεύγνυσαν δὲ ὡδὲ· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, — ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὔξείνου Πόντου ἔξηκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέρην τεσσερεσκαΐδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὅπλων, — συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατῆκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἴνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ

τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὗρον τε καὶ νότου εἴησκεν· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλάνειν πλοῖοισι λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 11. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλούντες ὄνοισι ἔνδινοισι τὰ ὅπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἑκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασύμενοι ἐστοιχησάντες, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυθιστών παχύτης μὲν ἥν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονὴ, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἥν ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἶλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ἔνδιναν καταπρίσαντες, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίης τῷ εὔρει, κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτις ἐπεκενύγκυον. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανύξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν παρεύρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

12. Ως δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ^αΑθων, οἵ τε χυτὸὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος (οἱ τῆς ρήχης εἴησκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὄρυγματος), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἡγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἕαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμάτῳ ἐλῶν ἐς ^αΑβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὕτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε μὴξ ἐγένετο. ἴδοντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τούτῳ τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελές ἐγένετο, καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς Μάγους, τὸ ἐθέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον, ως ^αΕλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι ^αΕλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρῆς ἐὼν

έποιετο τὴν ἔλασιν. **13.** ήγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξη, οὐδὲ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἥσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεῖς· προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἵπποται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αὐχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κατώ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἵροι Νισαῖοι καλεύμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὖνομά ἔστι Νισαιον. τοὺς ὅν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτὼ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἴπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἔχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβεβήκεε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατράμφης, Ὄτανεω πᾶς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

14. Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὗτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἄρμαμαξαν. αὐτὸν δὲ ὅπισθε αὐχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοι τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλῃ χιλίῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένῃ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππὸν ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δούρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ροιὰς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιὰς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίῃ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διελέλειπτο

καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτεν ὁ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος ἦσε ἀναμίξ. **15.** ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεί τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὄρυμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον, οὐδὲ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θηῆσασθαι. Θηῆσαμένος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἔκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἔχεαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἄμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἡθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν. καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτη προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ (ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος), ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὕζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡδύνος ἔθηεντο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας. Θηῆσαμένος δὲ ἴμερθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν γινομένην ὑδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. ‘Ως δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωστὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. **17.** μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως — ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως, οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἴρετο τάδε· ‘Ω βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωτὸν δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἰπε· ‘Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοκτεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

ό δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ετερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὗτῳ βραχέῃ βίφι οὐδεὶς οὗτῳ ἀνθρωπος ἔων εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ, τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον η̄ ζώειν. αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι, καὶ αἱ οὐνσοὶ συνταράσσουσαι, καὶ βραχὺν έόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὗτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἔούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἔών. Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπῆτης πέρι, ἔούσης τοιαύτης οὕην περὶ διαιρέεαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνεόμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ.

18. Καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· ⁷Ω Πέρσαι, τῶνδε ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρητίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσησι, ἔόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ’ εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τούτῳ πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκεν προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μή τις ἥμιν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῆ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι.

19. Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, τῇ δὲ ύστεραιή ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλουντες ἴδεσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμηήματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορυντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς δ’ ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέές φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν Θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην

τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, πρότερον ἡ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐs τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ὑπρεκέως διακρίναι, οὕτε εἰ τῷ ήλιῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐs τὸ πέλαγος, οὕτε εἰ μετεμέλησε οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. 20. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἄπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἴγαιον τὰ ὑποξύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆη. ἥγεοντο δὲ πρώτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίη πρώτοι μὲν οἵ τε ἵπποται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἵ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἵροι καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἵρον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἵπποται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγουτο ἐs τὴν ἀπεναυτίον. ἦδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων. 21. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεί τε διέβη ἐs τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηέντο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐn ἐπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐn ἐπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλιωύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἦδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἐλλησπόντιον. 22. Ω Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.

22. Ω δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. Ω δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηήκης αἰγαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα,

διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ρέει ποταμὸς μέγας "Εβρος. ἔδοξε ὅν τῷ Ζέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἔξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκου οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ζέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν.

23. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. "Οσον μέν νυν ἔκαστοι παρεῖχον πλήθεος ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαὶ τὸ ἀτρεκὲς (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἔξηριθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἔνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ώς μάλιστα εἰχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλου, περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμαστὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὥφος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὄμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον· ἐς τὸ περιουκοδομημένον, μέχρι οὐ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔξηριθμησαν. ἀριθμῆσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

24. Ζέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξέλιμας θηῆσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἔκαστοι ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταὶ, ἔως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο, καὶ τῆς ὕππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ώς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ζέρξης, μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ὕζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῆ χρυσέῃ καὶ παρέπλωε παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως ώς καὶ τὸν πεζὸν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπῆδον, καὶ ἔξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ώς ἐς πόλε-

μον. ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλώων ἔθηεντο καὶ τοῦ αὐγιαλοῦ.

25. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἱεὶ ἡνομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἥναγκαζε. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀναστατοῖ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὃκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι, Ἀυτίπατρος ὁ Ὁργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὄμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. **26.** ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὑρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναικας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἵρα ἴζεσθαι ίκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπόν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σύτον αἴρεεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἀν Ἀβδηρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἀριστον προείρητο ὄμοια τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἡ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἡ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι. **27.** Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἔωστοῦ τὰς νέας πορεύεσθαι, (Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαϊώ κόλπῳ οἰκημένῃ, ἀπ' ἣς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει·) ταύτη γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εῖναι.

28. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ

ῦδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἵδε, Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Αἰνῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγυνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῆται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ "Ελληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ὀειράμενοι. τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὅδε εἶχε· "Οσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς "Ελληνες ἔσνετες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὐ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ-ὄρκιον ὅδε εἶχε τοῖσι "Ελλησι. 29. ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Εέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἴνεκεν· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δὲ εἰς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευνον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἴνεκεν οὐκ ἔπεμψε Εέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεβέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαί, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

30. Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλέος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατέτο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν 'Ελλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ, οἱ "Ελληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος, ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἄτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιξύντων δὲ προθύμως. 31. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχήσω. εἰ

'Αθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἡ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἀν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἥντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατά γε ἀν τὴν ἥπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἤσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἀν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖς, κατὰ πόλις ἀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἀν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἕργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. 32. *ἡ ταῦτα ἀν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὄρεοντες ἀν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας μηδίζουντας, ὁμολογή ἀν ἔχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. καὶ οὕτω ἀν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσησ. τὴν γὰρ ὧφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥπις ἀν ἦν, βασιλίος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἀν τις λέγων σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλαδὸς οὐκ ἀν ἀμαρτάνοι τάληθέος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὄκοτερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ρέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἤσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετά γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἐπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχουντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.*

33. *Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἤσαν ἐτοῦμοι. καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, ταῦτε.*

*Ω μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε ; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
Δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κύρηνα.
Οὐτε γὰρ ή κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
Οὐτε πόδεις νέατοι, οὔτ' ὧν χέρεις, οὔτε τι μέσσης
Λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἀδήλη πέλει. κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει 5
Πύρ τε καὶ ὁξὺς Ἀρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.
Πολλὰ δὲ καλλί ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κού το σὸν οἶνον.
Πολλοὺς δὲ ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,
Οἵ που νῦν ἰδρωτὶ ρεούμενοι ἔστηκασι,
Δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ ἀκροτάτοις ὄρόφοισι 10
Αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὸν κακότητος ἀνύγκας.
'Αλλ' ἵτον ἔξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δὲ ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

34. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἔχρεοντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς
ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,
τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοίᾳ τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευε
σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ώς ἱκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι
Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι. *Ωναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι
περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τάς τοι
ἥκομεν φέροντες. ἡ οὖ τοι ἀπίμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ'
αὐτοῦ τῆδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἀν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. **35.** ταῦτα
δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρῆ δεύτερα τάδε.

Οὺ δύναται Παλλὰς Διὸς Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι,
Λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῆ.
Σò δὲ τόδι αὐτις ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδιμάντι πελάσσας.
Τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος
Ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ξαθέοιο, 5
Τεῦχος Τριτογενεῖ ἔνδιλινον διδοῖ εύρύσπα Ζεὺς
Μούνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὄνήσει.
Μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ιόντα
Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπέρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρέιν

Νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί κοτε κάντιος ἔστη.

10

**Ω θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν*

**Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούστης.*

36. Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γυνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διξημένων τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ αὖδε συνεστηκοῦσαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῷ ἐπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δὲ αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευν τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὧν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

**Ω θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν*

**Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούστης.*

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γυνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτη ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφέας ἐστωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασμένους.

37. **Ην δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριὼν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλέης, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὡνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὄρθως τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἴχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἀν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὅδε, **Ω σχετλίη Σαλαμὶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ *Ω θείη Σαλαμὶς, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν.* ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι*

τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὄρθον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡν αὐτοὺς ώς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε, ώς τούτους ἔοντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ χείρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκύζειν. 38. Ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέϊ γνώμη ἐμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε, δτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετιάλλων σφι προσῆλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἐμελλον λάξεσθαι ὄρχηδον ἔκαστος δέκα δραχμάς. τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἴγινήτας λέγαν. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδει προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξε τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νησὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

39. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγέγονε· συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρώτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἔόντας πολέμους. ἥσαν δὲ πρός τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὃ δὲ ὡν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἴγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ

στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἐς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἐν τε γένοιστο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τώντὸς πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιώντων ὅμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλησι.

III. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλῆνες ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἔφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἑωτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν ἥλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ἥδεσαν ἐοῦσαι πρότερον ἥπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχιών. ταύτην δὲ ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγγοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατ' ἕκατέρους ἐόντα. **2.** Οἱ τε χῶροι οὕτω ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηικίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἥπερον Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἥδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἴρον. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ, ἡμίπλευθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτο γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρης τῆς ἄλλης,

ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὅπισθε, κατά τε Ἀλ-
τηνοὺς ὅπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε
κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς
ἄλλη μούνη. 3. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέ-
ρης οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς
τὴν Οὔτην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκε-
ται καὶ τενάγεα. ἐστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτη θερμὰ λουτρά,
τὰ Χύτρους· καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἕδρυται
Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας
τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. ἔδειμαν
δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος, δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἥλθον ἐκ
Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκ-
τέαται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κιταστρέφε-
σθαι σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὄδωρ
τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἀν χαραδρωθείη
ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανέομενοι, ὅκως μή σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ
Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώρην. τὸ μέν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἥδη ὑπὸ χρό-
νου ἐκέετο. 4. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτις ὄρθωσασι ἔδοξε ταύτη ἀπα-
μύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι
ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνὸι οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπιστ-
τείσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες. οἱ μέν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι
τοῖσι Ἑλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι. ἅπαντα γὰρ
προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι
χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτη σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι
τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὡς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρ-
σην ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύ-
οντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θά-
λασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5. Ο δὲ ναυτικὸς ξέρειν στρατὸς ὄρμεόμενος ἐκ Θέρ-
μης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῆσι ἄριστα πλεούσησι δέκα

ιθὺ Σκιάθου, ἐνθα ἡσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἐλληνίδες, Τροιζηνί τε καὶ Αἶγιναίν καὶ Ἀττική. προϊδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. 6. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεών τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὸν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὥρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσχοι τῆσι νησὸν, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὸν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλώσοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθής τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός.

7. Αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεών ὥρμεον πρὸς γῆ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὥρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὄκτω νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὔτω· ἂμα δὲ ὅρθῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νημεμίης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσε σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἐλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὔτω εἶχε ὥρμου, οἱ δὲ ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεών μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγαλόν. αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίθοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. 8. Λέγεται δὲ

λόγος, ώς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναικά Ἀττικὴν, Ὄρείθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ώς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἰναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ώς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἦ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθυόν τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὄρείθυιαν τιμωρῆσαι σφι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβύρων τὰς νέας, ώς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβύροισι ὄρμέουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἴπαι· οἱ δὲ ὡν Ἀθηναῖοι σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἵρον ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. **9.** ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οὐ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσίαν οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηγοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἡ ναυτηγίη αὕτη χρηστὴ ἐγένετο, διὸ πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεα] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὑρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τούτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος. **10.** σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμὸς, ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ, μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυτηγίων περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἔχειμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταεύδοντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇ Νηρῆσι θύοντες,

ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ, ἡ ἄλλως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἄπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηῖδων. 11. 'Ο μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυστο· τοῖσι δὲ "Ελλησι οἱ ἴμεροσκόποι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἦς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρώτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενομένα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὑξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην, ὅπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινάς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίῃν ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζουντες. 12. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπάυσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἔστρωτο, κυτασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἐπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ὥσταν ἐπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰησονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦν ἐπ' ὑδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἐπλεον ἐς Λίαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφῆσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὕνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταί· ἐν τούτῳ ὧν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

13. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίης καὶ Ἀχαιίης, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ὑππων τῶν ἑωτοῦ, ἀποπειρεόμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίης ὑππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν "Ελλησι· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ὑπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μέν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὁνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον

πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρέόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. **14.** Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἥιε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπου θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ρήχῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστι χῶρος πεδιὸς, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κύρτα στεινός. περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικλητεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίναι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μέν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ίόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαιίης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχείος ρέων ἐξ Ἐυήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ οὖνομα κέεται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι, ὃς καλεέται Μέλας. **15.** Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταῦτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὔρεων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἣν Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλια τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλεύθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ οὔρεος, τὸ περικλητεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινήν, ἐστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Λσωπὸς ποταμὸς ρέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν τοῦ οὔρεος. **16.** Ἐστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὔρεων τούτων ρέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κιτὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κέεται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Λσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρὺς,

ἐν τῷ Δήμητρός τε ἵρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἴδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἵρον.

17. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ζέρεχης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινή, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἐλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἐλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μέν νυν ἕκατεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι· ἐπεκρύτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔχοντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. **18.** Ἡσαν δὲ οἵδε Ἐλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπυρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὥπλιται, καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λουπῆς Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὅγδωκοντα· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. **19.** πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῆ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γάρ σφεας οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ώς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρόσδοκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγαιητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καί σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὡν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ώς ἐόντα θητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα. **20.** Τούτοισι ἥσαν μέν

νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκύστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτεω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἡγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Τλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλητῆν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου. **21.** διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἔοντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φρουτίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλητῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἔοντος, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλητή, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος γὺρὶ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς), καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦντος ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξύμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἔόντες. **22.** παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἴπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ εἴνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἐλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν. παρεκάλεε ὡν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἐλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἐπεμπον. **23.** Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὄρωντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν, ἐμελλον ὄρτασαντες, καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ,

κατὰ τάχις βοηθίσειν πανδημεῖ. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἢν γάρ κατὰ τώντὸν Ὀλυμπιὰς τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκ ὡν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἐπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

24. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἑλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἑσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἕδοκες, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψήφιζετο, πέμπτειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ως ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. **25.** Ταῦτα βουλευούμενων σφέων, ἐπεμπεῖσθαι Ζέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεα, ἰδέοθαι ὀκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ δ τι ποιέοιεν. ἥκηκόεε δὲ, ἔτι ἐών ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ως ἡλισμένη ἐη ταύτη στρατιὴ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ως εἴησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐών γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ως δὲ προσῆλασε ὁ ἵππευς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἵα τε ἥν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἐκέετο. ἔτυχον δὲ τούτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θηεύμενος ἐθώνυμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως, ἀπήλαυνε ὅπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ζέρξεα τά περ ὅπώπεε πάντα. **26.** ἀκούων δὲ Ζέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβα-

λέσθαι τὸ ἔον, ὅτι παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἔκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἡκουσας μέν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὗτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἀγὸν μέγιστός ἐστι. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. 27. οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχεσόμενοι ήμιν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. ιόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεαν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεούνται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι, ἐστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τό σε, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταερόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆτην τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι προσφέρεαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ ἀπιστα Ξέρξη ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα ἔναντι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἄνδρὶ φεύστη, ἦν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτη ἐκβῆ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπειθεὶς τὸν Ξέρξεα.

28. Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ήμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι. πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἄλλα οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείη τε καὶ ἀβουλίη διαχρεόμενοι μένειν, πέμπτει ἐπ’ αὐτὸὺς Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεὶς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς δῆψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ὡς δ’ ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπεσήσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες. δῆλον δὲ ἐποίευν

παντί τεφ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέϊ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. **29.** ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείπουτο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχεῖς Τδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τούσι "Ελλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ δούρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεόμενοι ἤπερ οἱ "Ελληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι.

30. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἀλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὄρεοντες φεύγοντας βοή τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τούσι βαρβάροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθεϊ ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων. ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου, πειρεόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπῆλαυνον ὅπίσω.

31. Ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμένην ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατῆ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἀτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἔοντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατερωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἵους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἤσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἔκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὔρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὑρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραιή ἐνώ-

ρων, ἀπήλαυνον. 32. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἥλθε οἱ ἐς λόγους, ώς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι, ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτην ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι οὐπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτύονων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε οὐπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι οὐπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἔστον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. 33. Ἐστι δὲ ἔτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ώς Ὁνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλὸς Ἀντικυρεύς εἰσι οἱ εἴπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὐρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρῆ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόρι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὁνήτη τε καὶ Κορυδαλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτη τῷ Τρηχινῷ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἴδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἀν, καὶ ἐών μὴ Μηλιεὺς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὁνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ώμιληκὰς εἴη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γάρ ἐστι ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὐρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τούτου αἵτιον γράφω.

34. Εἶρεν δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἡρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἔπειμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγες Ὑδάρνης. ὡρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἔξενύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἔξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσα-

λοίσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φρύξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἥσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ τε τοσοῦδε κατεδέεκτο ἐούσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεὺς.

35. Ἐχει δὲ ὡδε ἡ ἀτράπὸς αὕτη· ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ρέοντος· οὗνομα δε τῷ οὔρει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῇ τῶντο κέεται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ράχιν τοῦ οὔρεος, λήγει δὲ κατά τε Ἀλπηὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐούσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατὸν ἐστι. **36.** κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὔρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχιών· ἡώς τε δὴ δεῖφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίφ τοῦ οὔρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὔρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδίλωται, Φωκέων χῖλιοι ὄπλιται, ρυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπ' ὄντος εἵρηται, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδη ἐφύλασσον. **37.** Ἐμαθον δέ σφεας οἱ Φωκέες ὡδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὔρος πάν ἐον δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμίη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὡς δε εἶδον ἄνδρας ἀνδυομένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδέν σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον, ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. **38.** ἐνθαῦτα Τδάρνης, καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ὄποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατὸς. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι

τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσι τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ἄδρυνα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὐρος κατὰ τάχος.

39. Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἔοντι Ἐλλήνων πρῶτου μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης, ἐσδὼν ἐς τὰ ἵρα, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἕσεσθαι ἄμα ἡοὶ σφι θάνατον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἥσαν οἱ ἔξαγγελαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσῆμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδρυμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἥδη διάφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ "Ἐλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γυνῶμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἑκαστοι ἐτρύποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄμα Λεωνίδη μένεν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. **40.** λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφέας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενοι· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἥλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχὴν. ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γυνώμῃ πλειστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδη, ἐπείτε ἀλιθέοτο τοὺς συμμάχους ἔοντας ἀπροθύμους, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαί σφεας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἔξηλείφετο. **41.** ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πιθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιητησι χρεομένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἡ Λακεδαιμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἡ τὸν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δέ σφι ἐν ἔπεισι ἔξαμέτροισι χρᾶ, ἔχοντα ὡδε·

‘Τμῆν δ', ὡς Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,
 ‘Η μέγα ἀστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεῖδησι
 Πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκὶ, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης
 Πενθήσει βασιλὴ φθίμενον Λακεδαιμονος οὖρος.
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
 'Αντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἔ φημι
 Σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἔτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.

5

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τὸν συμμά-
 χους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας οὗτω ἀκόσμως οἴχε-
 σθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. **42.** μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε
 οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς
 ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάτιν ὃς εἴπετο τῇ στρατῇ ταύτῃ,
 Μεγιστήν τὸν Ἀκαρνῆνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν
 ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον τὸν εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἵρων τὰ μέλ-
 λοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν
 οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, τὸν δὲ παίδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ
 μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. **43.** Οἱ μέν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀπο-
 πεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπειθούντο Λεωνίδη·
 Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Λακεδαι-
 μονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ
 βουλόμενοι (κατεῖχε γύρι σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὅμηρων λόγῳ
 ποιεύμενος). Θεσπιέες δὲ ἔκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγες δὲ αὐτῶν
 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

44. Εἵρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἥλιον ἀνατείλαντος σπουδὰς ἐποιή-
 σατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην,
 πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὗτω
 ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ

βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλὸν ἥπερ ἡ περίσσος τε καὶ ἀνά-
βασις. οἵ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Μέρξεα προσῆσαν·
καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην "Ἐλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον
ποιεύμενοι, ἥδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξῆσαν ἐς
τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος
ἔφυλασσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς
τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν
στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε
γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον
πάντα ἄνδρα, αἱὲν ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. 45. πολλοὶ
μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,
πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωὶς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν
δὲ λόγος οὐδὲς τοῦ ἀπολυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι
τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἕσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ
οὐρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ρώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς
βαρβάρους, παραχρεόμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δούρατα μέν
νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα
ἥδη, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. 46. Καὶ
Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄρι-
στος, καὶ ἔτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν
ἐγὼ ὡς ἄνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·
ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ
Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐνομα-
στοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παιδεῖς, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ
Τηρέανθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγο-
νότες Δαρείφ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος
ἥν ἀδελφεὸς, Τστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς, δις καὶ
ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείφ τὸν οἰκον πάντα τὸν ἐωτοῦ
ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνον οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνουν. 47. Μέρξεώ
τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι ὑπέρ τοῦ
νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω. Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὡθε-

σμὸς ἐγένετο πολλὸς, ἐς δὲ τοῦτον τε ἀρετὴ οἱ "Ελληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὐ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλητη παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ "Ελληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. **48.** ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὅπισω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὃ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὃκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίης ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

49. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἡ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι· πυθόμενον πρὸς τεν τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς, ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίεσαι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὄντων ἀποκρύπτουσι,—τοσοῦτό τι πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχινός ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκῆη ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἥλιῳ. **50.** ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἐπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὁρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἄρματίδεω.

51. Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῇ περ ἐπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἡ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἰχεοθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

*Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε τριηκοσίαις ἡμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.*

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι ἴδιῃ.

**Ω ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῆδε
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ρήμασι πειθόμενοι.*

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

*Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοὶ Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχείον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειφάμενοι,
Μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.*

ἐπιγράμμασι μέν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπύγραμμα, Ἀρμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος ἔστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

52. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὔρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι ἡ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην (ώς μεμετίμενοι τε ἡσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω, καὶ κατέκεατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὁφθαλμῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον), ἡ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἄμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, παρεὸν σφι τούτων τὰ ἔτερα ποιέειν, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν· ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας, Εὔρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν Περσέων περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεῦνται τὸν εἶλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἥγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λειποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. 53. εἰ μέν νυν ἦν μοῦνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστῆσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἡ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ,

οὐκ ἄν σφι Σπαρτίτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· ννὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἔχομένου προφάσιος, οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθυήσκειν, ἀναγκαῖς σφι ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μέν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τούτην· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὸν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

54. ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὅνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναντε Σπαρτιτέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὅνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτήν. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνοματείναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τούτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ως ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

55. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγες, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπὸ ἀνακαίης ἔχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ως δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Δεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χειράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἤσαν ἀσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ως καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλέϊ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἔχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικούατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεῖ. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλὸν τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας. **56.** οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μέν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῦνας αὐτῷ, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήια, ὡρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εύρυμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτεν ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγίσαντα ἄνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων, καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

57. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας "Ελλῆνες οὗτοι ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὗτο. νῦν δέ μοι εἴπε, κόσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἀπάντες. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ⁹Ω βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν, καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδῆσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ Σπάρτη, πόλις ἄνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστά κη, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἵ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. εἴπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρητε, τέφ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ίθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἵα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. . . .

58. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήνε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὼς ὅτι βασιλεύς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσαι. δῆλά μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἄνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζώοντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐσ τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἄνθρωπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίευν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.

IV. ARTEMISIUM.—MARCH OF XERXES TO ATHENS.—
SALAMIS.—RETREAT OF XERXES TO ASIA.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἡσαν οἵδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιαίες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔοντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι, καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἴγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαΐδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυώδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἐπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἐπτά. **2.** ἡσαν μὲν ὅν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ως τὸ πλῆθος ἔκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εύρυκλειδεώ. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἥγεμονεύη, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔφεσθαι ἥγεομένουσι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα. **3.** ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ώς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὰν εἴη ἐπετράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἴκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἥγεμονίης, ώς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὅρθα νοεῦντες: στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέουστος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἔστι, ὃσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ωι αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἴκον μέχρι

δσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὁσά μενοι τὸν Πέρσεα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἥδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὑβριν προϊσχόμενοι, ἀπέλυοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἐλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον μέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς, καὶ στρατῆς ἄπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν Βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἡ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. γνόντες δέ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοίες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εύρυθμιάδεω προσμεναὶ χρόνον ὀλίγουν, ἔστ' ἀν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ὃ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὅδε ποιέει· Εύρυθμιάδη τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἔωντοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο,—'Αδειμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὄικύτου, Κορινθίων στρατηγὸς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν,—πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέχω δῶρα δώσω ἡ βασιλεὺς ἦν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτα τε ἀμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληργέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἔγενετο δὲ ὡδε· ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς περὶ δεῖλην πρωτήν γενομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βύρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ὥδοντες, πρόθυμοι ἡσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίτης προσπλώειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε, τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, μή κας ὥδοντες οἱ Ἑλληνες προσπλώουτας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. **7.** πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρύναντες διηκοσίας, περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου (ώς ἂν μὴ ὅφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώουσαι Εὐβοιαν) κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὔρυπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτη ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὄδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔξι ἐναντίης. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλωόντων, ως ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῆσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν,—ἥν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο,—οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ώς τότε. ὅτεφ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαὶ ἀτρεκέως.

θωυμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἔστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ, ώς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θύλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἡ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὄγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. **Θ.** λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα φυεδέσι ἵκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γυνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ώς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τήν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτεν υὔκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. **10.** Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ώς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε, δείλην ὄψιν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτὸι ἐπανέπλων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. ὁρέοντες δέ σφεας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Θέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώοντας τηνσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κύρτα ἐπίσαντες· τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἀμεινον πλωύσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅστιοι μέν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἤσαν εὗνοοι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ὁρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ώς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο. εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο, ὅκως αὐτὸς ἔκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλέος λάμ-

ψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐστίμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρφροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἰχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὸν Γόργον τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφέον Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγυμον ἔόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Δυκομήδης Αἰσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήν τον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτη ἐτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθούσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Αρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλωον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμυνος μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέϊ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. **12.** Ως δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἅπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυῆγια ἔξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο, καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτη ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἥκουν· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιου, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερὴ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὅμβρος τε λάβρος, καὶ ρεύματα ἴσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὡρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραί. **13.** καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτῃ νὺξ ἐγίνετο· τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλάωει Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦτι

ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ δόσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ώς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῦλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἔξεπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἀν ἔξισθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη. οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῦλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετῆσι βάρβαροι, ώς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσσονται ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἐλληνσι ἐπεβώθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἄμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα ώς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώοντες τὴν Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον ηνυσὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ώς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλωον ὁπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Σέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἐλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῆσι αὐτῆσι ἡμέρησι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὸν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εύριπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

16. ώς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Σέρξεω ἐπέπλωον, οἱ Ἐλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μη-

νοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλεῦντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ "Ἐλληνες ἐπανέπλωσόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλουισι ἔγενοντο. ὁ γὰρ Εέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἔωστού ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἰκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἐλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβύρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

17. Παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος· — ἦν μὲν γάρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοίον κατῆρες ἑτοῖμουν, εἰ παλῆσει ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλησι ἔοντι· ὡς δὲ αὗτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἑτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἔοντις ἀγγέλειν τριηκούτερῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνη νεώτερον τὸν πεξόν· — οὗτος ὁν Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὑστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. **18.** Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξίμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα, τὰ Ἰωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· "Ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας σρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμᾶν ἔστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμέας δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔζεσθε

καὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἱόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαῖης μέζουνος κατέκευχθε ἡ ὕστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ’ ἡμέων γεγόνατε, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωτῶν, ἡ ἐπείτε ἀνενειχθῆ καὶ διαβληθῆ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ. . . .

19. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον [οἱ βάρβαροι]. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεῶν· στεινὸς ταύτη κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὔρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρης, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὡν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔδοκες Θεσσαλοίσι. **20.** Ής δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρηστοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρηστοῦ ἡ κορυφὴ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ’ ἑωτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὲ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν)· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Δοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκεομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὗτω ἦγον τὸν στρατὸν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. **21.** Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπί-

κοντὸς ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἥδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὄρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένους ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτη ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὡρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἴρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανόπεων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Λιολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτη ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατῆς τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἴρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέῃ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἀμεινον ἦ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἱὲ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα. 23. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες, ἐμαυτεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἵρων χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι, εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς είναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναικας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησσὸν τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρου ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἔξηκοντα ἄνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ

τε ἡσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἐκήρατος, ὅρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ νηὸν ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνεγμένα ἵρα, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἀπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἡσεῖ Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνῆτης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἔστι, ὅπλα ἀργία αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι μάλιστα. 25. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἡσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνῆτης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κερανοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνῆτης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἴθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὐτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ώς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ώς πρὸς τούτουσι καὶ ἄλλα ὤρεον θέαι· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας, μέζονας ἦ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔχοντας], ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. 26. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας εἶναι, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἔστι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνῆτης, Αὐτονόον δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῆς Ταμπείης κορυφῆ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἡσαν σόσι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνῆτης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

27. Ο δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίουν, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχέιν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παιδίας τε καὶ γυναικας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γυνώμῃ. δοκέοντες γὰρ εύρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημὲι ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὑρον οὐδὲν ἔον· οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχέιν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. **28.** οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἴνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ. λέγουσί τε ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἔοντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέοντι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἔστι. αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰὲν χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνύσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἔξελιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξεκέετο, ἔπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. **29.** Ἐπεὶ

δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζῆνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεύνες νέες ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπῆν ὥντὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εύρυνθιάδης ὁ Εύρυκλειδεω ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος γε τοῦ βασιλητοῦ ἐών. νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι.

30. Ως δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εύρυνθιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὃκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὺς χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπείτο ἥδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμίᾳ ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωτῶν ἔξοισονται. **31.** ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἥκει τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδῆνον. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν, πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιξον.

32. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἥρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἔνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαντον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἐρήμου τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμίνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενεῖς βίον οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἔξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον, τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τούτο εἶναι τὸ κρητοφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. 33. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ίζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κατατίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὅχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέοντι Ἀρῆιον πάγον, ἐποιόρκεον τρόπον τοιώνδε· ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὀισταὶς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμίνοντο, καὶ περ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δε ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας ἐλεῖν. 34. χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι. ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσησι. ἐμπροσθε ὡν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὕτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἀν ἥλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίνῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτη ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἴδον

αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἔωστοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρώτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἵκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. 35. Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ήρέξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἵππεα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κτήρικος δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ, συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἔωστῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,— εἴτε δὴ ὡς ὅψιν τινὰ ἴδων ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. 36. τοῦ δὲ εἰνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φρύσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι ταύτη Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νῆσος, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὡν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυναῖν ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νῦν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

37. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι "Ελληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὃστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσεπιπτον καὶ ἴστια ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι. τοῖσι τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμα-

χέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. 38. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εὑρέτο Μητρίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοπονήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὗ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ἀπα-είρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἔκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὕτε σφέας Εὔρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται, οὕτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὅστε μὴ οὐδαεσθήναι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἀπολέεται· τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίησι. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἔστι μηχανὴ, ἵθι καὶ πειρῷ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνῶσαι Εύρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὅστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν. 39. κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἥρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἤσε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εύρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινὸν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι. οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἰ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκένα τε πάντα τὰ ἥκουσε Μητριφίλου, ἔωστον ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεὶς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρητίζων ἔκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 40. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἡ τὸν Εύρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἶνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷς κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύτου εἶπε· Ὁ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγώσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται. οὐ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύνται. 41. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμειψάτο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εύρυβιάδεα ἐλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς

έπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἰχετο, λέγων τάδε· Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν θομφορόν ἐστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἦν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔφεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 42. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εύρήσεις· πρώτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νησὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνη, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν, — τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων, — αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκέεται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὐ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 43. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νησὶ, οὗτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὗτε προβήσονται ἑκαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἴγινη καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστι τῶν ἔχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-

χωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπητὰς γυνώμας. **44.** Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μή ἔστι πατρὶς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔών ἐπιψήφιζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γυνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἔωτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ώς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἥπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἀν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔσσαι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρύσεσθαι. **45.** Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εύρυβιάδεα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα· Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσσαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἥμιν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ώς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τέ ἔστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μονυθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. **46.** Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εύρυβιάδης. δοκείειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγη τὰς νέας. ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταῦτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γυνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διανυμαχέειν. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εύρυβιάδη ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ώς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι

καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίειν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιων.

47. Ἐφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπειτέ ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἐρῆμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ὃδεν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεών κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἵρων τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἴρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν, ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τούτο· **48.** αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃτι θείον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὃν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μέν γε κατασκήψη ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὄρτην ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μιεῖται, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὄρτῃ ἱακχάζουσι. **49.** πρὸς ταῦτα εἴπειν Δημάρητον· Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπης. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῆ τὰ ἔτεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε

οὗτε ἐγὰ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι, οὔτ' ἀλλος ἀνθρώπων σύδε εἰς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ησυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελῆσει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραίσειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέσθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

50. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστίαιαν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεις ἔπλωον δὶς Εύριπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ησυχίην. τότε μέν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιῆσασθαι, νῦντος γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἔλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἀρρώδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον. **51.** Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεξὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἥπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἵζομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος.

ἄτε δὲ ἔουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἡνύετο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψαύματος πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλίνυνον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὕτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

52. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἥδη δρόμου θέοντες, καὶ τῆσι υησὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἴη ἀποπλώειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλάτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγαῖοι καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.
53. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης, ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γυνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων ἄνδρα πλούτῳ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεὼν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παιδῶν· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιτήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὅλβιον. ὃς τότε πλούτῳ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἑλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον

ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἦν μὴ περιύδητε διαδράντας ἀντούς. οὔτε γάρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑώντούς τε σφέας ὅψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή. 54. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σφι σημῆνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ὄγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι τούτους, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεύχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νησοῦ. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοιεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίφ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ώς, ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μᾶλιστα ἔξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσῃς ἐσεσθαι ἐκέστο ή νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ώς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντῖοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παρατέοντο.

55. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὡθισμὸς λόγων πολλός. ἥδεσαν δὲ οὕκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῆσι νησὶ οἱ βύρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρεον αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγαίης διέβη Ἀριστεῖδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενός αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιότατον.

οὗτος ώνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἔξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔοντα μὲν ἑωսτῷ οὐ φίλου, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἔξεκαλέετο, ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι. προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. **56.** ὡς δὲ ἔξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρέων ἐστι, ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἵστον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενούμενος, ὅτι μὲν, οὐδὲ ἦν ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εύρυβιάδης, οἵοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλώσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθών σφι ταῦτα σῆμηνον. **57.** Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἥγγειλας. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενούμενος ἥκεις. ἵσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, δτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἥθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεί περ ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἥγγειλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν, καὶ οὐ πείσω ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνῃς, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις. **58.** Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Λίγίνης τε ἥκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλώσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα

εἴπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθουντο τὰ ἔξαγγελθέντα. **59.** ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἡκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἦ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τηνίοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ελλησι ἐς τὰς ὄγδωκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

60. Τοῖσι δὲ "Ελλησι ώς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ρήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ώς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡώς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παρανέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ρῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἡκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἦ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγουν τὰς νέας ἀπάσας οἱ "Ελληνες. **61.** ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὕκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει. συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίη βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ώς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι, ὥστε καὶ

ἄπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὃνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· **Ω** δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε; **62.** Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους **Ιωνες**· οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥω τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκύκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεομιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὖν. ἔχω μέν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἴνεκεν μέμνημα τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὁροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. **63.** Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγαίητέων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἵον περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐώστων ἡ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Εέρξεα, ἐδόκεε τε ἔκαστος ἔωντὸν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα. **64.** κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἔκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τύδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεύει· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα δια-

φυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γάρ αὐτῆς ήσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ή δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐօνσα, ἔδοξεῖ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάση· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε τη̄ φιλίη ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλώοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. **65.** εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔοντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσούσα νηῦς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλός ἀεωτὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσατο· ὃ τε γάρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος, ὡς εἰδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν τη̄ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἡ Ἑλληνῶν εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. **66.** τοῦτο μὲν τοιούτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακον ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ζέρξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θησύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἴπαι τῶν παρεόντων· Δέσποτα, ὁρᾶς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσθέντα κατίγορον γενέσθαι. Ζέρξην δὲ εἴπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραξόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. ταῦτα μὲν Ζέρξην φασὶ εἴπαι.

67. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ζέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ

ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὺρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθύρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρώται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράπουτο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι ηγούνται πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέϊ, τῆσι σφετέρησι ηγούνται φευγούσησι περιέπιπτον. 68. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἱωνας, ὡς δὶ’ ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὡν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῆ Σαμοθρηϊκή ηγούνται. ἢ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγαναίη ηγούνται κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηϊκῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὴ ἔόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηϊκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. 69. ταῦτα γενούμενα τοὺς Ἱωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἰδέ σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὔρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος, τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριπάρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν

Αριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικῆτον πάθεος.

70. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὸν Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλωόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγυνῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεράμζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεών, οἱ δὲ Αἰγυνῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν Αἰγυνήτας. **71.** Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἡ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυνήτεω νηῆ ἐμβαλούσα Σιδωνίη, ἡ περ ἐīλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγυναίην, ἐπ' ἣς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόν, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἴνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηῇ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἄμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἥλω νηῆς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἰγυναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσείδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήσιον ἴδων τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσις τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγυνητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὄνειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν νυν νηῆ ἐμβαλὰν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. **72.** Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἥκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγυνῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγυνήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινῆς Παλληνεὺς, δις καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλώοι Ἀρτεμισίῃ, οὐκ ἀν ἐπάύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἥ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἐκέετο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, δις ἄν μιν ζωὴν ἔλη· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας

στρατεύεσθαι. αὐτη μὲν δὴ, ώς πρότερον εὔρηται, διέφυγε, ησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

73. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι 'Αθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ώς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ιστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἵδοντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγοντας, ὡσάντως οἴχεσθαι. ώς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινής κατὰ τὸ ἴρον Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείη πομπῆ, τὸν οὕτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὕτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἰναι θείον τὸ πρῆγμα· ώς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεών, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε· Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς "Ελληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἥρωντο. ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἔχθρων. **74.** Ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτις τάδε λέγειν, ώς αὐτοὶ οἱοί τε εἰεν ἀγόμενοι δῆμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ "Ελληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἔξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρέει δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. **75.** Ἀριστεῖδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ώς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινῆς χώρης, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησὶδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

76. Ός δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἑλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἔόντα, ἐτοίμοι ἡσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῆσι περιεούσησι τηνὶ σὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἥιόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτη ἐξενεχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι.

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

77. Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε· ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἴναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτῳ διαχούν, γαυλούς τε Φοινικίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὄρέοντες δέ μν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὐ ἡπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ πατὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἐμπειρον ἔόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διαινοίης. 78. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἐπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔον· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται

τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἀν ἡμερέων ἥτις πᾶσα ὁδὸς, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίουν ὁδὸν ἑκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος, τοὺς οὕτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὅμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἐώντῳ δρόμῳ τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρώτος δραμὸν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατάπερ "Ἐλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ὕππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρῆιον. 79. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ήέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τάς τε ὁδὸὺς μυρσίνη πάσας ἐστόρεσαν, καὶ ἐθυμίεον θυμιήματα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἥσαν ἐν θυσίρσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείησι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῆ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέοντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἵτινι τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ήέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

80. Ηέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίη ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεταν, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρεύμενον ὅμοια. ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο· τῆς δὲ οὐκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέος, τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆργον ὅπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἔκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλέϊ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγοῦν ἥσαν Ζωστήρος πλώοντες οἱ Βύρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἰεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 81. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγέ-

νετο, ὄρέοντες οἱ Ἑλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν, ἥλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξησόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οὐχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβούλευντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας, πλάνειν ἵθεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. **82.** Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς, εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἀν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἀν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὄπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἔχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἵα τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλις τε καὶ κατ' ἔθνεα, ἤτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἡ πρὸ τούτου ὄμολογεόντων. τροφήν τε ἔχειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γάρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα, ἑατέον ὃν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς δὲ ἔλθη φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιεῖσθαι ἥδη τὸν ἄγνωνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

83. Ως δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τούς γε πολλοὺς πλάνειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιπομέκτεον, ὡρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλάνειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὥλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἐλεγεῖ

σφι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτὸς ἥδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμένις δὲ (εὔρημα γὰρ εὑρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτὸὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.

84. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμένις κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ήρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἔνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἐόντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ἀτύσθαλον· διὸ τὰ ἵρα καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπρώτης τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγύλματα· διὸ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πεδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασμόσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶ ἔχετω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἂμα δὲ τῷ ἕαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μελλων ποιήσεοθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα, ἵνα, ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τά περ ων καὶ ἐγένετο. **85.** Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένοι εἶναι σοφὸς, ἐφάνη ἐών ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὑθυνολος, πάντως ἐτοίμοι ἡσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἡσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε συγᾶν, ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλέϊ φρίσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο. οἱ ἐπει τε ἀπίκουτο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄρι-

στος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσουτά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζειο. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλωον ὄπίσω.

86. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἔξηλανον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὡδὸν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἄμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἄμα δὲ ἀνωρίῃ εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι δὲ ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἐπειτεν ἄμα τῷ ἕαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὄδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὄλιγους· ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἵππεύσι. **87.** Ξέρξης δὲ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὖστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίηρ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δευδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὅμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίειν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὄδον διέφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ

νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῆσι πόλισι, ἵνα
 ἔκαστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνει τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν
 Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακε-
 δονίῃ. ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἴρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιών οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόν-
 τες οἱ Παίονες τοῖσι Θρήνξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν
 νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηνῶν τῶν περὶ
 τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. 88. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι,
 ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηνίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον,
 ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῆσι νησὶ διέβησαν ἐς
 Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὑρούν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας,
 ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλευμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι
 σιτίᾳ τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὄδὸν ἐλάγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον
 ἐμπιπλάμενοι, καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ
 στρατοῦ τὸν περιέόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄμα Ξέρξῃ
 ἀπικυνέονται ἐς Σάρδις. 89. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος
 λεγομένος, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπί-
 κετο ἐπ' Ἡίόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπο-
 ρίησι διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατὶν Ἄδρυνει ἐπιτράπει
 ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσ-
 σης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλώοντα δέ μιν
 ἀνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην. καὶ
 δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νεὸς ὥστε
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν
 σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῦμα πεσόντα τὸν
 βασιλέα εἴρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυθερνήτην, εἴ τις ἐστί
 σφι σωτηρίη. καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία,
 ἷμι μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβα-
 τέων. 90. καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι.
 "Ανδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξύτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδό-
 μενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἱκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη. Τὸν μὲν

ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Εέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέη στεφάνη τὸν κυβερνήτεα, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

91. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Εέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Εέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἀν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τούτονδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα, ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἔοντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἀν ἵσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῷ χρεόμενος ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

92. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δημόσιαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρώτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἔξειλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν λητῆν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἐὼν μέραθος δυώδεκα πηχέων. **93.** Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαιρεσιν τῆς λητῆς ἔπλωον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἐλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρώτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἔκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος

γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείωσι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. **94.** Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλωντων ἔκαστων ἐσ τὴν ἑωτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσ Λακεδαιμόνια ἀπίκετο ἐθέλων τιμῆθηναι. καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήγα μέν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέϊ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδωρήσαντο δέ μιν ὅχω τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οὕπερ ἵππεις καλέονται, μέχρι οὗρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν· μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμένις ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. **95.** Ως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίου ἀπίκετο ἐσ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐθάυτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐων, ἀλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐσ Λακεδαιμόνια ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ο δὲ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπάνετο ταῦτα λέγων ο Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· Ούτω ἔχει τοι· οὗτ' ἀν ἐγὼ ἐων Βελβιώτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὗτ' ἀν σὺ, ὁνθρωπε, ἐων Ἀθηναῖος.

96. Ο δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος, ώς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐσ "Αβυδον, ἐχειμέρισε ἐν Κύμη.



NOTES.

XENOPHON: ANABASIS.

THE Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes to wrest from his possession the throne of Persia — the *Anabasis* — was made in the year 401 b. c. The march from Sardis began in the spring, and about six months later a battle was fought at the village of Cunaxa, some forty or fifty miles from Babylon. In this battle Cyrus was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother; and the Greeks, though victorious over that part of the opposing force which they had attacked, suffered virtual defeat in losing their leader. They had marched more than 1800 miles from Ephesus to Cunaxa. (See ii. 2. 6.) But this route, the only one with which they were acquainted, was closed to them; for the first part of it lay through the desert of Arabia, in which, had they undertaken to return as they came, they would have perished of hunger. They set out, therefore, northward under the guidance of Ariaeus, who had been the commander of the barbarian forces of Cyrus; but subsequently they entered into negotiations with the King which led to a treaty. By the terms of this treaty Tissaphernes, one of the King's four generals in the battle, was to lead them back in safety to Ionia. Beyond the Tigris, however, Tissaphernes treacherously entrapped five of the generals, four of whom were soon after put to death. Great dejection fell in consequence upon the army; but recovering their courage, especially under the exhortations of Xenophon, they elected new generals, and began their retreat along the upper waters of the Tigris and through the highlands of Armenia to the Greek colonies on the Black Sea. This "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" from the river Zapatias to Trapezus was one of incredible hardship, — a constant fight for about 700 miles through an enemy's country in the winter-time. The account of it by Xenophon contains by far the most vivid picture that has ever been given of the temper, discipline, and endurance of those citizen-soldiers who constituted the armies of Greece; and along with that an authentic and most interesting account of the tribes of

Asiatic mountaineers, who lived just outside the circle of the then civilized world. The Greeks reached Trapezus, the modern Trebizond, at the end of the winter of 400 b. c., and after a month's halt proceeded westward, partly by land and partly by sea, to Chrysopolis on the Thracian Bosphorus opposite Byzantium, which they reached in the summer. After passing over into Thrace and subsequently returning to Asia, in the spring of 399 b. c. they joined the army of Thibron, and, as the "Ten Thousand," disappeared from history. Consult more at length, on the events here described, Smith's *History of Greece*, Chap. XXXVI., or the three excellent chapters of Grote, LXIX. – LXXI. The last constitute a good running commentary on the *Anabasis*.

Cyrus the Younger, the unfortunate leader of this expedition, was the second of the four sons of Darius II., who was the grandson of Xerxes I. In 407 b. c. he was made by his father satrap of Lydia, Phrygia the Greater, and Cappadocia, and military commander (*κάραβος*) of the forces that mustered at Castolus (*Anab.* i. 1. 2). He could not have been at this time more than seventeen years of age at most, for he was born after his father's accession to the throne. The commission given him by Darius is found in *Hell.* i. 4. 3: *καὶ Κύρος* (sc. ἀπήντησεν), *ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πασι τὸ βασιλείου σφράγισμα ἔχοντιν, ἐν ἡ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε, Καταπέμπω Κύρου κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων.* His high position made it possible for him to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war they were then waging with Athens. And he did this, partly at the direction of his father, who had sent with him large sums of money for this purpose, and partly from his own desire. For there is evidence that even at this time he aspired to the throne, and that foreseeing as possible what eventually took place, the succession of his brother, he was preparing to wrest the government from him by violence if need be. He became the warm friend of Lysander; and, on being summoned to his father's bedside at Babylon in 405 b. c., he turned over to the Spartan admiral the money which he had in hand, and placed at his disposal his entire personal revenue from the province of which he was satrap. The timely aid thus rendered to the Lacedaemonians did much to hasten the end of the Peloponnesian War. As to the fact that funds were furnished by Cyrus, see Thucydides ii. 65: *Κύρῳ τε* (sc. ἀντεῖχον) *ὑπτερὸν βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενόμενῳ, δι παρεῖχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.* An account of him from this time until his death is given in the first book of the *Anabasis*. Consult further Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

Xenophon, the historian of the expedition, was an Athenian gentleman of culture, the pupil and friend of Socrates the philosopher. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. It is generally believed, however, that he lived to be more than ninety years of age. From a story that was current in antiquity that he fought at Delium in 424 B. C., it has been concluded that at the time of the expedition of Cyrus he must have been past forty; but judging from the internal evidence afforded by the *Anabasis* itself, he could not have been at this time more than thirty. He himself relates, (*Anab.* iii. 1) the circumstances under which he came to join the army of Cyrus. His friend Proxenus was already with the Persian prince, and invited Xenophon to come and join him at Sardis, promising to introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon did this after consulting the oracle at Delphi, and at the urgent solicitations of Cyrus he joined the expedition. He does not appear, however, with any prominence until after the murder of the generals, when his rare qualities became known and he became the inspiration of the army. During their perilous retreat northward to the sea, he always showed that high-born courage and endurance that have since won the admiration of posterity as they then gained him the complete confidence of his fellow-soldiers. When in 399 B. C. the "Ten Thousand" became incorporated with the forces of Thibron, Xenophon appears to have returned to Athens, but in 396 B. C. he was again in Asia, and in 394 B. C. fought at the battle of Coronēa with the Spartans against the allies. Though an Athenian, he was anti-democratical, and much more in sympathy with the institutions of Sparta than with those of his native city. He was now banished, and took up his residence in Scillus in Elis, where in entertaining his friends, hunting, and writing, he is reported to have lived a happy life. He was subsequently expelled from Scillus by the Elēans and went to Corinth, where he died. Though the decree of banishment against him was eventually repealed, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Athens. Xenophon was a prolific writer. His most celebrated works besides the *Anabasis* are the *Memorabilia* (Memorials of Socrates) in 4 books, the *Hellenica* (a continuation of the history of Thucydides) in 7 books, and the *Cyropēdeia* (an historical novel) in 8 books. His style is perspicuous and unaffected. Consult also Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. XENOPHON; and on the question of his age at the time of the *Anabasis*, an interesting article by Professor Morris in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1874.

BOOK FIRST.

THE LEVYING OF AN ARMY.—THE MARCH TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF BABYLON.—THE BATTLE AT CUNAXA AND DEATH OF CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Darius, falling dangerously sick, summons to him his two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus (1, 2). On the King's death the former succeeds to the throne, and being persuaded by the satrap Tissaphernes that his brother is plotting against him, he has him arrested. Cyrus, saved from death only by his mother's entreaty, returns disgraced to his province and concerta measures against the king (3, 4). He conciliates all who come to him, sees to his own native troops (5), and secretly collects Greek mercenaries. A part of this army he enlists in western Asia Minor, alleging as a reason that the Greek cities which have put themselves under his protection are in danger from the machinations of Tissaphernes, and lays siege to Miletus (6–8). Other Greek mercenaries are enlisted in the Thracian Chersonesus (9), in Thessaly (10), and in Greece (11).

1. *Δαρείον*, Darius II. or *Nothos* (*νόθος*, *bastard*), a natural son of Artaxerxes I., and a man of feeble character. He died late in 405 B. C., after a reign of nineteen years. For the case, a predicate gen. of possession, see G.* 169, 1. — *Παρυσάτιδος*, *Parysatis*, the half-sister, as well as wife, of Darius, a woman of an intriguing and cruel disposition, and of great influence with her husband. — *γέννηται*, *were born*. For this use of the pres., see G. 200, N. 1. — *δύο*: there were other sons (thirteen children in all), but these are the two now prominently in the mind of the writer. — *πρεσβύτερος*... *Κύρος*, Artaxerxes (*being*) the older, Cyrus the younger. These were Artaxerxes II., surnamed *Mnemon* (*μνήμων*), on account of his great memory, and *Cyrus the Younger*, so named to distinguish him from *Cyrus the Great*, founder of the Persian empire. — *τοθένεια*, *was sick*, the impf. to denote the continuance of the state (G. 200). The aor. *τοθένησε* would mean *fell sick* (G. 200, N. 5 b). *τοθεντία* is a denominative verb (G. 128, 2 b; 130, 2) from *ἀ-σθενής*, *weak*, and this from *α-* priv. (G. 181, 4 a) and *σθίνω*, *strength*. — *ινάντηε*: peculiar in augment (G. 105, 1, N. 2). Give its derivation (G. 130, 4) and Latin equivalent. — *τοῦ*, *his* (G. 141, N. 2). — *τὰ παῖδε*: dual, but above, the pl. (G. 33, 1). For the case, see G. 134, 2. — *παρ-εἴναι*, *to be by* (*him*), i. e. at Babylon, where he died.

2. *μὲν*...*δέ*: used to correlate the two sentences. See the lexicon, and cf. the case in § 1. *μὲν* is not to be translated. — *οὖν*, *now*, is here continuative, not inferential. Cf. *igitur* in Lat. — *παρὸν ἐτόχασε*, *was, as it happened, (already) there* (G. 279, 4). — *μετα-πέμπειαι*, *sends for, sends after* (G. 191, VI. 3, end), *summons*. — *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, *from his province*.

*The references under G. are to the sections of Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, revised and enlarged edition of 1879.

For the prep. **ἀπό**, see G. 191, I. 2. — **σατράπην**: pred. acc. (G. 166). The satrap was a *viceroy*, but with great discretionary powers. According to Herod. (iii. 89), Darius I. divided the Persian empire into twenty satrapies. — **κτοῖσθε**, *had made*. The Greek was content simply to refer the action to the past, without specifying the time as exactly as we do by the plup. — **καὶ . . . δὲ . . . ἀπέδειξε**, and (δέ) *he had also* (καὶ) *appointed him*, etc., a transition from a relative to an independent clause; not uncommon in Greek. **καὶ** adds the new particular of the investment of Cyrus with military authority (the office of satrap was at first chiefly a civil one); **δέ** is the conjunctive word, and the word between the two is emphatic. — **πάντων**: accent (G. 25, 3, N. 1). — **ὅσοι**, *who*, lit. (*so many*) *as*, the rel. of quantity or number (G. 87, 1). — **εἰς . . . ἀθροῖσθαι**, *muster in the plain of Castolus*, lit. *gather themselves into*, etc. For the prep. **εἰς**, see G. 191, III. 1. **ἀθροῖσθαι** is not the historical pres., but pres. to denote a standing fact. It is derived from **ἀθρός**, *close together* (G. 130, 8). The position of the plain of Castolus, a large and level tract of land in which the troops were annually reviewed, is uncertain, though probably it was in Lydia. — **ἀναβάλλει**, **ἀνέβη**: this change of tense from the historical pres. to the aor. is common. Note the chiastic arrangement (**χιασμός**, *crossing*, named from the letter χ), **ἀναβάλλει λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην**, **ἔκων ὅπλιτας ἀνέβη**. — **ὁ Κύρος**: proper name with the art. (G. 141, N. 1 a). — **λαβών**: the part. denotes the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). So **ἔκων** following. — **ἀς φίλον**: Tissaphernes, at this time satrap of Caria, whom Cyrus had superseded on becoming satrap himself, was in fact his enemy, and Cyrus had him accompany him, probably because he feared to leave him behind. He proved, however, a dangerous companion. — **καὶ . . . δέ**: see above. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅπλιτας τριακοσίους**: a body-guard selected from the Greeks then in his service. Cyrus knew well the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians as soldiers. The *hoplite*, lit. *heavy-armed (foot) soldier* (**Ὥπλον**), was armed with shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, spear, and sword. Note the suffix **της**, signifying in denominatives *one who has to do with* (G. 129, 2 b). — **ἀρχούντα**: *eppos*. (G. 137, N. 4). — **Παρράσιον**: Parrhasia was a district of Arcadia (in the Peloponnesus) about Mt. Lycaeus.

3. **ἐτελέσθησε**, *had ended (his life)*, *died*. See note on **ἐτοῖσθε** in § 2. This use of the aor. for the plup. is especially common after particles of time like **τέλει**, etc. Cf. the Lat. historical (aoristic) perf. with postquam. **τελευτάν** (G. 130, 1) is derived by successive steps from **τελός**: **τελός**, **τελέω**, **τελευτή**, **τελευτάν**. — **καὶ κατέστη . . . Ἀρταξέρξης**, *and Artaxerxes had been established in the kingdom*, lit. *settled into*, and so **εἰς** with the acc. — **διαβάλλει**, *falsely accuses*. The current story, that Cyrus had planned to kill Artaxerxes at the time of his coronation, Xenophon evidently believed to be false. For the prep. **πρός**, see G. 191, VI. 6. — **ἀς ἐπιβουλέεις**: opt. by quot. after the idea of *saying* in **διαβάλλει** (G. 243; 201, Rem.). Give the dir. form. — **αὐτῷ**: after the compound verb (G. 187). — **δέ δέ**, *but he* (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — **συλλαμβάνει**: cf. *comprehendere* in Lat. — **ἀς ἀποκτενόν**, *with the avowed object of putting him to death* (G. 277, 8, and N. 2 a). — **ἔματησα-**

μένη . . . πάλιν: note the diff. between the Greek and English idioms. In Eng., *rescues (εξετρέψει) him by entreaty and sends him off again*; but in Greek, *having rescued (G. 277, 1), lit. begged him off, sends him, etc.* The use of the part. is much more frequent in Greek than in Eng., and in translating this fact must be constantly kept in mind. — **ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν:** for the prep. **ἐπὶ**, see G. 191, VI. 2.

4. **ὅ δέ:** cf. note on **ὅ δέ** in § 3. — **ώς, as, when,** rel. adv. of time. — **ἀπῆλθε:** accent (G. 26, N. 1). — **ἀτιμασθεῖς:** **ἀτιμάζω** is derived (G. 130, 5) from **ἀ-τιμός** (*without honor*). Cf. **τιμή, τία.** — **βουλεύεται . . . ἐκενοῦ,** *plans that he may never (G. 283, 2) in future be (G. 217) in the power of (G. 191, VI. 2, 2, end) his brother, but if possible may be king (G. 223) in his stead.* For the accent of **δύνηται**, see G. 122, 2, N. 2. For the prep. **ἀντί**, see G. 191, I. 1. — **μέν:** correl. to **δέ**, § 5; his mother's support is contrasted with the steps taken by Cyrus himself to bring about the desired end. — **ἱπηρχε,** *supported, followed by the dat.* (G. 184, 2). — **ἱπάρχω, to be a foundation or beginning (ἀρχή):** **τὰ ἱπάρχοντα, what one can depend on.** So fond was Parysatis of Cyrus, who in energy and spirit probably resembled her much more than did his brother, that she had endeavored before the death of Darius to induce him to name Cyrus as his successor to the throne, on the ground that he was the first son born after his own succession. It was on this ground, that he was the first son of the *King*, that Xerxes I. obtained the sovereignty. — **βασιλεύοντα:** the simple attributive part. (G. 276, 1) modifying as an adj. the foll. noun.

5. **ἀφικνέτο:** common usage would require **ἀφικνέσθε** (G. 233, N. 1 : *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, N. 1). — **παρὰ βασιλέως,** *from the presence of the King*, is used with **τῶν** as an adj., the noun **Ἄνδρες** being omitted (G. 141, N. 3). The whole expression is compressed and would read in full: **ὅστις δέ ἀφικνέτο παρὰ βασιλέως τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, κ. τ. λ.** For the prep. **παρά** see G. 191, VI. 4. — **βασιλέως:** *Basileus*, when used to designate the king of Persia, commonly omits the art. — **πάντας:** pl., because of the distributive force of **ὅστις.** — **οὕτω διατίθεις . . . ώστε, so dis-posing (them) that,** etc. With **δια-τίθημι**, cf. Lat. *dispono*. — **αὐτῷ:** case (G. 185). So **αὐτῷ** below at the end. — **ἔιναι:** result (G. 266, 1). — **καὶ . . . δέ:** this position of **δέ**, so far from the beginning of the sent., is rare. — **τῶν βαρβάρων:** to give a substantive a more emphatic position, it is often transferred, generally with change of case, from the dependent to the principal clause. E. g. **ὅρε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἔστιν**, and in Eng., “See the learned Bellario how he writes.” So here, normally, we should have **ἐπεμελέσθο ὡς οἱ παρ' ἑαυτῷ βάρβαροι πολεμεῖν, κ. τ. λ.** For the case of **βάρβαροι** as it stands, see G. 171, 2. — **πολεμεῖν:** with **ἰκανοί** (G. 261, 1). — **ὡς εἶησαν, ἔχοιεν:** object clause with **ὡς** and the opt. (G. 217, N. 1). — **εὐοίκων ἔχοιεν:** **ἔχω** and an adverb are often joined in the sense of the verb to be and an adj., as **καλός ἔχει = καλόν ἔστιν**, *it is well, lit. it has (itself) well, bene habet.* For the formation and derivation of **εὐ-οίκως**, see G. 74, 1; G. 129, 13 a.

6. **τὴν δὲ . . . βασιλέα,** *and he collected his (G. 141, N. 2) Greek force as secretly as possible (lit. concealing himself, G. 277, 2, as most he was able),*

that he might catch the King as unprepared as possible. Cyrus knew that an army of Greeks was his only hope for wresting the throne from his brother with all the resources of the empire at his command. Cf. i. 7. 3. — Ἐλληνικήν: a denom. in κός (G. 129, 13 a).

Page 2. — διτί ἀπαρσκευότατον: διτί or ὡς is very often prefixed in this way to the superlative to strengthen it. (Cf. quam maxime.) In these constructions there is an ellipsis of some form of δύναμαι. Sometimes in the case of the superlative with ὡς the verb is expressed, as in iii. 4. 48, ὡς ἔδύνατο τάχιστα ἐπορέετο. Cf. with this the simple ὡς τάχιστα in i. 3. 14. Cf. also with διτί πλειστούς, *as many as possible*, in this section, ὡς δινῆται πλειστούς in i. 3. 3. — διτίς λέβοι: purpose (G. 216). — ὡδε, *in the following manner*. — ἐτοιεῖτο: middle (G. 199, 2). — συλλογήν: from συλλέγω. — φυλακάς: antecedent attracted (G. 154). Normally τῶν φυλακῶν ὅποτων (G. 153) ἔχει, r. τ. λ. The accent shows that φυλακάς is from φυλακή, and not from φύλαξ (G. 25, 1). State the difference in *meaning* of the two nouns, and for the suffix of φυλακή, see G. 129, 1. — ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι: for the prep. ἐν, see G. 191, II. 1. — φρουράρχοις: φρουρός, *watcher, guard* (τρόπ and ὄρδω), and ἄρχω (G. 131, 1 & 3). — λαμβάνειν, *enlist*. — ὡς . . . πόλεσι, *on the ground that Tissaphernes was plotting against the cities* (G. 278, 1). Compare ὡς ἀποκτενών in § 3. — καὶ γάρ . . . τὸ ἄρχασον, and (*this was a plausible reason*), *for the cities of Ionia had originally* (τὸ ἄρχασον, G. 160, 2) *belonged to Tissaphernes* (G. 169, 1). ήσαν: impf. used with τὸ ἄρχασον of a time prior to the main action. ἄρχασος is derived from ἄρχῃ, *beginning* (G. 129, 12; cf. 128, 2 b). — ἐκ βασιλίως δεδομένατ, *having been given* (G. 277, 6) *him by* (ἐκ to express the agent) *the King*. For the prep. ἐκ, see G. 191, I. 3. — ἀφειστήκεσσαν: the perfect of ιστημι was originally σε-στη-κα, which with the ε of the plup. (G. 101, 4) prefixed would become ε-σε-στη-κεν. The σ was then transposed and became ε, and from this form by contraction came ειστήκεν. The form ἁστήκεν also occurs (G. 101, 4, n.). — Μιλήτου: case (G. 191, I. 5). Cyrus had not been invested by his father with the command of the Greek cities of Ionia (Grote, Chap. LXIX.), but these remained, so far as they were subject to Persian control, under the charge of Tissaphernes. When, however, after the accession of Artaxerxes, trouble arose between Cyrus and Tissaphernes, these Greek cities revolted to the former with the single exception of Miletus. See i. 9. 8, 9. This was greatly to the advantage of Cyrus, as it kept his way open to the sea. See the map.

7. προαισθέμενος, *having become aware* (or in Eng. more commonly, *becoming aware*) *beforehand*. — τὰ αἰτά: distinguish carefully from the following ταῦτα (G. 79, 2). In the pl., because the Greek looked at the action of revolting with reference to *its parts*; but in Eng., *this same thing*. — βουλευομένους (sc. τινάς) is in indirect discourse (G. 280). — ἀποστῆναι: in app. to the preceding τὰ αἰτά ταῦτα. — τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ: relic of the original demon. meaning of the art. (G. 143, 1). — αἰτών: part. gen. (G. 168). — ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας is subordinated to συλλέγεις. ὑπολι-

όρκει, when he had taken the fugitives under his protection, he collected an army and laid siege, etc. ἐνολαβὼν καὶ (mark the conjunction) συλλέγεις ἐποιήσκει would mean when he had taken, etc., and had collected, etc., he laid siege, etc. — ἐποιήσκει: continued action. From πάλις and εἵργει, to hem in. — καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, both by land and sea. For the prep. κατά, see G. 191, IV. 2. — ἐκβάλλει, to eject, banish; φεύγει, to flee, be in banishment; κατάγει, to lead back, restore from banishment; ἀκτίπτει, to fall out, be banished. — καὶ αὐτὴ . . . στράτευσα, and in this again he had (G. 184, 4) another pretext for collecting (G. 262, 2) an army. αὐτὴ in agreement with the noun in the pred., since otherwise it would be τοῦτο.

8. ήξειον . . . αὐτῷ: he urged (άξειω, to think δέιον, to claim) on the ground that he was (G. 277, 2) a brother of his, etc. — δοθῆναι: obj. of ήξειον (G. 260, 1), with πόλεις for its subj. — οἰ: the indir. reflex. (G. 144, 2). Accented because it is emphatic (G. 28, N. 1). — δρχειν: parallel in const. to δοθῆναι, i. e. he thought it right rather that the cities should be given to him than (he thought it right) that Tissaphernes should control them. — αὐτῶν: case (G. 171, 3). — συνέπραττεν . . . αὐτῷ, co-operated with him in this, lit. did this with (σύν) him. Why is τῶντα in the pl.? See note on τὰ αὐτὰ in § 7. — πρὸς ἑαρόν: used adj. (G. 141, N. 3). πρὸς of personal relation that is hostile (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 b). — ὥστε ἡτούθανερο: ὥστε with the ind. after a full stop (G. 237). Cf. ὥστε εἶναι in § 5. — Τισσαφέρνα . . . δαπανᾶν, but thought that he (αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus) was incurring expense (G. 260, 2) about his forces, because he was at war (G. 277, 2) with Tissaphernes (G. 186, N. 1). For the prep. ἀμφί, see G. 191, VI. 1. — ὥστε . . . τολεμούντων, consequently he was not at all (οὐδέν, G. 160, 2) displeased at their being at war (G. 278, 1). — καὶ γάρ, and (the more) because, involving an ellipsis, as always. Cf. § 6. — ἀποτίπτει, to send what is due (ἀπό), remit. — ὁν: assimilation in case (G. 153). — ἐτίγχανεν ἔχειν, had previously, as it happened, possessed. Cf. παρὸν ἐτίγχανε in § 2. For the tense of ἐτίγχανεν, cf. ήσαν in § 6. Note throughout this sect. the use of the impf. to express continuance.

9. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: the Thracian Chersonesus (χέρσος, later χέρρος, dry land, as opposed to water, and νῆσος, island; Lat. peninsula). See map. — Ἀβύδου: case (G. 182, 2). — τόνθι τὸν τρόπον, in the following (G. 148, N. 1) manner (G. 180, 2), equal to ὅδε in § 6. — Κλέαρχος: the general most trusted by Cyrus. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 1–15. — τῇσι σθη, came to admire (G. 200, N. 5 b), aor. of δύασαι. — διεστών: change to the historical pres. Cf. ἀναβάλει, ἀνέβη in § 2 and N. — δαρικούν: the darics mentioned here were gold coins worth about \$5.40. See note on i. 7. 18. — χρωστόν, gold money, more lit. a gold piece, der. from χρωστός with the suffix -ο- (see G. 129, 8). — αὐτῷ, by means of. — συνλέγει, ἐπολέμει: note the diff. in tense. — τοῖς ΘραΞῖ τοῖς . . . οἰκοῦσται: position of the attributive adj. phrase (G. 142, 2). Cf. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇσι κ. τ. λ., above. The acc. Ελλήγοντος with reference to a preceding state of motion, as in the phrase εἰς τόπον οἰκεῖ, to (go into and) dwell in a place. For the prep. ἐπέρ, see G. 191, IV. 3. — εἰς, for, of purpose (G. 191, III. 1 d).

— ἐκοῦσαι: to be translated by an adv. (G. 138, n. 7). — τούτῳ . . . στράτευμα, and in this way again this army was secretly supported (G. 279, 4) for him.

Page 3.— 10. **ξίνος**: in the sense often of *guest-friend*, a citizen of another state with whom one has a treaty of hospitality, used of both parties, though commonly, as here, of the *guest* as contrasted with the *host*. The word often means also simply *stranger*, and again, as below, *hired soldier, mercenary*. — **πρό**: for this prep., here used to express agency, see G. 191, VI. 7. — **οὐκος**: used as adj. (G. 141, n. 3). For its accent, see G. 22, n. 1. — **ἀντί-στασιων**, *opponents, antagonists*. **στασιάτης** from **στάσις**, *faction* (*τ-στα-ματ-*), the suffix *τη-* signifying *action* (see G. 129, 3). On the force of the suffix *τα-*, cf. δηλίτρας in § 2 and note. — **αἰρεῖ . . . μισθόν**, *asks him for pay for (els) 2000 mercenaries (and) for three months* (G. 167, 5). Sometimes rendered, *asks him for about (els, cf. note on els, i. 2. 3) 2000 mercenaries, etc.*, but it seems impossible that Cyrus should have been willing to send off 4000 Greeks on so distant an expedition, when his whole aim was to gather Greek troops about him as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, it was an easy matter for him to furnish Aristippus the *means* for collecting this number. — **ὡς . . . ἀντιστασιωνέοντας**, *on the ground that* (cf. the use of **ὡς** with **ἐπιβουλεύοντος** in § 6) *in this way he would get the better of his opponents*. **περιγενόμενος δὲ** (G. 277, 2) would, if expressed by a finite mood, be **περιγένετο δὲ** (G. 211). The prot. to this apod. is contained in **οὗτος** (G. 226, 1). — **μή**: with the inf. (G. 283, 3). — **καταλῦσαι**, *to end* (sc. his quarrel). — **πρὶν δὲ συμβουλεύσηται**: **πρὶν** with the subj. (G. 240, 1 and 2).

11. **Πρόξενον**: the particular friend of Xenophon, at whose invitation the latter took part in the expedition. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 16—20. — **ὡς βουλόμενος, ὡς παρεχόντων**: the first **ὡς** shows that **βουλόμενος, κ. τ. λ.**, gives the cause *assigned* by Cyrus for his command to Proxenus, the second **ὡς** shows that **παρεχόντων** does the same for **βουλόμενος**, while **ὡς** further on before **πολεμήσων** shows that this part. gives the purpose *declared* by Cyrus for **ἴκελενσεν, κ. τ. λ.** The further idea, implied in the first and third cases, that the cause and the purpose were not the *true* grounds of his action, is derived from the context and is not necessarily implied by this use of **ὡς**. Neither is there any conditional force in the part. with **ὡς**. Cf. with these three cases of **ὡς** with the part., the places where it occurs in §§ 3, 6, and 10. — **εἰς**, *into the country of*. — **Πισίδες**: the Pisidians were a marauding race, occupying the western range of Mt. Taurus. See map. — **ξίνοις . . . τούτοις**, *these (G. 137) also being guest-friends (G. 136) of his*. — **σὺν τοῖς φύγασι**, *with the aid of the exiles*. Cf. with this the simple dat. **Τισσαφίρει** that precedes (G. 186, n. 1), and for the prep. **σύν**, see G. 191, II. 2. — As stated in the prefatory note, Cyrus, on coming down to the coast as satrap, had used all the means in his power to get the good-will of the Lacedaemonians. On the termination of the Peloponnesian War in the spring of 404 B. C., many men whose lives had been wholly spent under arms were left without employment. This made it

the easier now for Cyrus to collect the army that he wished, an army of trained veterans that could be thoroughly depended upon in a dangerous enterprise. Some of those who accompanied him were, like Xenophon, men of a superior grade, disheartened by the political condition of things that followed the war, and drawn into this expedition by personal admiration for the prince, or personal attachment to some of his officers.

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus, being now ready to set out inland, assembles his troops at Sardis, announcing, in order to conceal his real object, his intention of expelling the Pisidians from their territory (1–4). The king, informed of the real facts by Tissaphernes, makes ready to meet him. Cyrus sets out from Sardis and marches through Lydia across the Maeander to Colossae in Phrygia, where he is joined by Menon (5, 6). Thence he proceeds to Celaenae, a city which the historian describes at some length, where he waits a month and is joined by the rest of his Greek troops. He reviews and numbers these (7–9). Thence he proceeds northwest through Peltae to Κεραμῶν ἔυρος (11), and then east to Καβύτρου πεδίον, where Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, meets him and furnishes him money with which to pay his troops (11, 12). Thence southeast to Thymbrium and Tyriaeum, where he reviews his whole army (13–18). Thence through Iconium into Lycaonia (19). From here Menon, accompanied by Epyaxa, proceeds due south into Cilicia; Cyrus northeast to Dana (20). After some delay caused by the king of Cilicia, Cyrus himself crosses the mountains and enters Tarsi, which had been abandoned by the king (21–24). Menon had reached this city five days before, having lost two companies in the passage of the mountains (25). Syennesis the king finally obeys a summons from Cyrus, and they seal their compact of friendship with gifts (26, 27).

1. ἐπεὶ . . . ἀνα, but when at length it seemed good (not simply *it seemed*, cf. note on i. 3. 11) to him to proceed (G. 202, with 1) inland. More than a year had been spent in preparation. ἀνα, up, inland, from the coast. So ἀνα-βαίνω, ἀνά-βασις. — τὴν μὲν . . . βουλόμενος, he gave as his pretext indeed (that he was going) because he wished. Note the voice of ἐπούετο (G. 199, 2). μέν implies the clause with δέ, which if expressed might be, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἐπορεύετο. On ὡς βουλόμενος, cf. the note on ὡς βουλόμενος in i. 1. 11. — ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ: prep. repeated, as often. — παντά-πασιν: der.? — ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους, avowedly against these. — τὸ βαρ-βαρικόν: sc. στράτευμα. So with τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Note the suffix κός (G. 129, 13 a), and cf. ἔνικον, below. — ἔνταθε καὶ ἤκαν, to come there also, i. e. to Sardis, § 4. — λαβόντι, with (G. 277, 6). — δονον . . . στράτευμα, whatever troops he had. Cf. ὄπόστας εἰχε φυλακάς in i. 1. 6, with the note, and δειχε στράτευμα, below. This attraction of the antecedent (G. 154) is a common const. in Eng. also. — Ἀριστίππῳ: Aristippus did not come in person, but sent Menon (i. 2. 6, and ii. 6. 28). — συναλλαγῆντι: cf. for the meaning καταλύναι in i. 1. 10. — ἀπο-τέμψαι: cf. note on ἀπέτημε in i. 1. 8. — τοῦ ἔνικον: sc. στρατέυματος, and for the case

see G. 171, 3. — **λαβόντα**: so far removed from Ξενίq, with which we should expect it to agree (cf. **λαβόντι** and **συναλλαγέντι**, above), that it takes the case of the (unexpressed) subject of ἤκειν. See G. 138, N. 8 b (*Dat.*). — **πλήν**: sc. **τοσούτων** (G. 191, I. 5) as antecedent to **άνδροις** (G. 87, 1). — **ἀκροτηλεῖς**: show how **ἀκρό-τηλις** came to have the meaning of *citadel*.

2. **ἐκάλεσε**: short vowel of the stem retained (G. 109, 1, N. 2 b). — **ἐκέλευσε**, urged. Note the chiastic arrangement, **ἐκάλεσε δὲ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε**. — **ὑποσχόμενος . . . οἰκαδε**, promising (see **ὑποσχνέομαι**) them, if he should successfully accomplish the objects (G. 152) for which he was taking the field, not to stop until he should restore them to their homes (**οἰκαδε**, G. 61). Verbs of promising (G. 203, N. 2) may take the infinitive either in indirect discourse (i. e. the future), or not in indirect discourse (G. 202) as here. (The fut. **πάντεσθαι** here has only the authority of a correction in one MS.) The dependent verbs, however, except **ἔστρατεύετο**, are constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (G. 248, 1), and we might have had **ἔτν καταπράξῃ** and **πρὶν δὲ καταγάγῃ**, representing **ἔτν καταπράξω** and **πρὶν δὲ καταγάγω** of the direct form. On the other hand, **ἔστρατεύετο**, for which, on the principles of indirect discourse, we might have had either **στρατεύοντο** or **στρατεύεται** (as representing **στρατεύομαι** of the direct form), is not included in the indirect discourse, but is constructed like an ordinary past verb (like those mentioned in G. 243, N. 2); for a fuller explanation of this, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 77, 1, N. 2; § 74, 2, N. 2; § 70, N. 2. — **πρόσθεν πρὶν**: cf. i. 1. 10, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 67, N. 4. — **ἡδέως**: adv. der. from **ἡδύς** (G. 74, 1).

Page 4. — **ἀντρῷ**: dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — **παρῆσαν εἰς**, arrived at, i. e. came to (εἰς) Sardis and were by (παρ-ήσαν) it. The army was encamped probably outside the city, so that **εἰς** means simply to. Sardis was the capital of Lydia and at this time the residence of Cyrus as satrap. See map.

3. **τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων**: cf. **τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως** in i. 1. 5, and the N. — **εἰς**, to the number of, with numerals (G. 191, III. 1, c). This word and **ἄμφι**, about (G. 191, VI. 1, 3), when used in this sense, are still prepositions and take the numeral in the accus. Cf. **πελτασταὶ ἄμφι τοὺς δισχιλίους**, about two thousand (acc.) *peltasts* (nom.) below in § 9, where **ἄμφι . . . δισχιλίους** is an adj. phrase. **ώς** and **ὅσον**, on the other hand, are in this sense adverbs and do not affect the case of the numeral that follows. — **γυμνῆτας**: the accent determines the dec. to which the noun belongs, the termination **-ες** being long in the first dec. and short in the third (G. 22, 2). The term **γυμνῆς**, *light-armed soldier* (der. from **γυμνός**, with which cf. the use of **ψυλοί** in iii. 3. 7), as opposed to **hoplite**, is generic, and comprehends the **πελταστής**, *targeteer*, **τοξότης**, *bowman*, and **σφενδονήτης**, *slinger*. — **ώς**, about, see note on **εἰς**, above. — **Μεγαρέις**: for the suffix see G. 129, 10. — **ἥν**: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — **τῶν στρατευομένων**: pred. part. gen. (G. 169, 1).

4. **οὗτοι μέν**: in contrast with those who joined him later (§ 6 and § 9). Sentences in Greek begin in general, contrary to the practice in Eng., with a conjunction. The exceptions to this principle in Xen. are mainly such

sentences as begin with demonstratives or adverbs of place; cf. οὗτοι μὲν, κ. τ. λ., here, τούτου τὸ εὖρος, κ. τ. λ., in § 5, τούτον διαβάσας, κ. τ. λ. and ἐνταῦθα ἤμενεν, κ. τ. λ., in § 6, etc. Such sentences are called cases of *asyndeton* (ἀ-σύν-δετρον, δέω, to bind). — αὐτῷ: dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). — Τισσαφέρης πορεύεται, κ. τ. λ.: he declared this himself in ii. 3. 19. — κατα-νοήσας, remarking, seeing. — ἔγγονσάμενος: der. from the same root as ἔγω. It has, like *duco* in Lat., the two general meanings of *to lead* and *to think*. — εἰναι: quoted inf. (G. 260, 2). — μείζονα ἢ ὡς, *too extensive* to be, lit. *greater than as (it would be, if)*, etc. — ὡς before βασιλέα, *to*, used only with the acc. of a person (G. 191, III. 2). — βασιλέα: cf. note on βασιλέας in i. 1. 5. — ἢ . . . τάχιστα, *as rapidly as possible*, lit. *in what way* (sc. δέ, G. 188, 1) *he could most quickly*. — ἵππεας: a denominative in εὐς (G. 129, 2 a).

5. ήκουε: with double obj. (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — οὐς: antec. omitted (G. 152). — ἀρμάτο: the march began in the spring of 401 B. C. — ἀπό: not ἀπε, *out of*, because the army was not encamped *within* the city. — διά, *through* (G. 191, IV. 1). — σταθμὸν τρεῖς, *three days' journey* (G. 161). The σταθμός was properly the *halting (Ισταμαι) place* (cf. Lat. *sta-bulum*), and so the *day's journey* or *march* that preceded. — παρασάγγας: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). The *parasang* was a Persian measure equal to 30 stadia (ii. 2. 6), or about a league ($3\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles). — εἴκοσι καὶ δύο: note the conj. (G. 77, 2, N. 2). This made their rate of travel greater than ordinary; according to vii. 8. 26, the average rate was $5\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs per day. — Μαλανδρόν: position (G. 142, 2, N. 6). Give the Eng. der. See map. — πλέθρα: the *plethrum* measured about 101 Eng. feet. — γέφυρα . . . ἐπτά, *and there was a pontoon-bridge over (it) made of seven boats* (G. 188, 1).

6. διαβάσας: relatively *past* (G. 204). Still we render loosely, *crossing this, etc.* — οἰκουμένην, *inhabited*, many of the cities of Asia being then, as now, deserted, θῆραι. — εὐδαίμονα, *prosperous*. Give its der. — ἥμερας: acc. of extent of time (G. 161). — Μένων: the general sent by Aristippus. An unfavorable account of him is given in ii. 6. 21–29.

7. ἐνταῦθα . . . ἦν, *there Cyrus had (G. 184, 4) a palace*. — βασιλέας: sc. δώματα. With the pl. used in this way of the separate buildings composing the palace, cf. *aedes* in Lat. Distinguish this word from βασιλέα and βασιλέα (both of the first dec.) respectively. — ἦν: agreeing with the nearer subj. (G. 135, 2, and N. 1). — παράδεισος: a Persian word meaning properly a *walled place*. What is the Eng. der.? — θηρέων: limiting πλέθρας (G. 180, 1; 172, 1). — ἀπό ἵππου, *on horseback*, lit. *from a horse*, because in hunting the attack upon the animal hunted proceeds *from* the horse. Where this relation is not to be expressed, the phrase is ἐφ' ἵππου, as in iii. 4. 49, ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, *he led them on horseback*. — ὑπότε βασιλεύοτο: a cond. rel. sent. expressing a gen. supposition in past time (G. 233). — διὰ . . . παραδεῖσου, *and through the middle* (G. 142, 4, N. 4) *of the park*, etc. — αὐτοῦ: in the pred. pos. (G. 142, 4, N. 3 a). — πηγαὶ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλελεῶν: the more precise statement would be ἐν τοῖς βασιλελεῖσι, but the gen. is used with ἐκ with reference to the subsequent flowing of the water *out from (under) the palace*.

Page 5.— 8. θέτι: accent (G. 28, N. 1 (1), end). — ἐπί, close upon, with the dat. and a verb of rest. So ὑπό (next line), under, at the foot of. — καὶ οὗτος, this also, i. e. the Marsyas as well as the Maeander. — ἀμβάλλε, empties, intransitively. — ποδῶν: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3). — λιγέται . . . ἐκδέραι, Apollo is said to have flayed, etc., the pers. const. for the impers., λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδέραι. The dir. form of the anecdote would be ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλων ἐκδέρει . . . ἐκρέμασε (G. 246, with note). **Μαρσύας**: Marsyas is said to have challenged Apollo to a musical contest, on the terms that the vanquished should be at the mercy of the victor. When Apollo gained the day, he punished Marsyas for his insolence by hanging him to a tree and flaying him alive. (See *Marsyas* in a Class. Dict.) — ἐργοντα (G. 277, 2), in a contest. — εἰ as indir. reflexive (G. 144, 2 a) refers to Apollo. — περί: properly around (G. 191, VI. 5). So in a derived sense here, concerning, Lat. de. — σοφίας, musical skill, lit. wisdom, der. from σοφός (G. 129, 7). — δέρμα: note the suff. ματ-, signifying the result of the action (G. 129, 4), and for the stem cf. ἐκ-δέραι (δέρ-), above. Δέρμα shows the same root that the Eng. word *tear* does. — διεν, whence, for οὐ or οὐ, where (G. 87, 2). Cf. εἰστιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλεῶν in § 7 and note. — διά: with the acc. on account of (G. 191, IV. 1, 2). — **Μαρσύας**: pred. nom. (G. 136).

9. τῷ μάχῃ, in the well-known (τῷ) battle (G. 188, 1), that of Salamis, 480 B. C. For the suffix of μάχη, see G. 129, 1. — λέγεται οἰκοδομήσας: cf. λέγεται ἐκδέραι in § 8 and the note. — τοξότας Κρήτας: the Cretan bowmen were celebrated in antiquity. — Σοφαῖτος: if this is the genera. mentioned in § 3, the purpose for which he had been left behind must remain in doubt. The numbers given in the preceding sections and the sum total given here (at the end of the section) will not tally. — ἔμεταν: from ἔ-ετάω, to examine thoroughly, ἔταω, from ἔτος, real. — ἔγινοντο οἱ σύμπτυχοι, the whole together amounted to. — ὅπλιται, πελτασται: a case of part. appos. (G. 137, N. 2). The second of these nouns is used generically for light-armed troops in general, including the γυμνῆτες (§ 3) and the τοξόται (mentioned in this section). — ἀμφὶ τοὺς διοχιλίους: see note on εἰς in § 3.

10. Up to this time the march has been southeast. Cyrus now turns back and marches northwest as far as Κεραμῶν ἄγορά, probably with the double object of increasing his supplies and getting on the main high-road to the east. — ἐν αἷς: sc. ἡμέρας. — τὰ Δίκαια θύσεις, celebrated the Lycaeum with sacrifice, a festival in honor of Ζεὺς Δικαῖος, so named from Mt. Lycaeum in Arcadia. τὰ Δίκαια is a cogn. acc. (G. 159). Cf. the phrase πάρτην Βοηδρόμια, to celebrate the Boedromia by a procession. — ἤσαν: in agreement with the pred. nom. (G. 135, N. 4). — στλεγγίδες: a sort of tiara, made of gold, as here stated, and worn as an ornament for the head. — χρυσαῖς: der. from χρυσός (G. 129, 14). — Κεραμῶν: probably the gen. of Κεραμοί, the Ceramians, though this is uncertain. With Κεραμῶν ἄγορά cf. the Eng. *Newmarket*. — ἐσχάτην πρός, the last bordering on, on the road to.

11. The rate at which Cyrus marched these three days was very rapid.

His object probably was to meet Epyaxa before his troops became clamorous for their pay. — **Καῦστρου πεδίον**, the name of a town (lit. *plain of the Caister*), a compound noun like **Κεραμῶν ἄγορά**, above. Cf. the Eng. names of places, *Dartmoor* and *Springfield*. — **ἔφελέρο**, *there was due*. — **πλέον**: used indeclinably for **πλέοντας**. — **θύρας**, *quarters*, just as **ἐκ τοις βασιλίως θύραις** in i. 9, 3 means *at court*. — **ὅ δὲ . . . διῆγε**, *but he continually put them off with the hope (of getting their pay)*. — **ἀνώμενος**: quoted after **δῆλος ἦν** (G. 280, N. 1). — **πρός**, *in accordance with* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — **τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου**: the article limits **τρόπου** (G. 142, 1). — **ἔχετα**, *when able* (G. 138, N. 8 b).

Page 6. — **ἀπ-ήτονι, ἀπο-διδόναι**: note the force of the preposition. But in § 12 simply **δοῦναι**, because Cyrus had in fact no claims on Epyaxa.

12. Syennesis is said to have pursued a double policy and to have endeavored to propitiate both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, determined to keep his throne whichever of the two prevailed. The kings of Cilicia were at this time tributary to Persia. On the Ionic gen. in **Συεννέσιος**, see G. 53, I, N. 3. — **τοῦ βασιλέως**: note the article. — **Δέλγετο δοῦναι**: the pers. const., but below **Δέλγετο συγγενέσθαι Κύρον**. — **οὖν**, *at any rate*, i. e. however he got the money, he *at any rate* certainly had it to pay his troops with. Cf. **οὖν**, below, in §§ 22, 25. — **στρατιῇ**: his *Greek* army. — **φύλακας**: note the accent, and cf. the note on **φύλακάς** in i. 1. 6.

13. **παρά**: with the acc. because of the course of the water, after it has left the **κρήνην**, *along by* the road. Cf. **πηγαὶ ἐτῶν βασιλέων** in § 7 and the note. — **κρήνη . . . καλουμένη**, the *so-called* (G. 276, 1) *spring of Midas*, lit. *the spring called (that) of Midas*. — **τὸν Σάτυρον**: Midas, the proverbially wealthy king of Phrygia, is said to have caught the satyr Silenus (the early protector and constant companion of Bacchus) by making the fountain here mentioned flow with wine, instead of water. Another form of the story appears in the account of the “Gardens of Midas,” placed by Herodotus (viii. 158) in Macedonia, in which Silenus is said to have been made prisoner by garlands of roses. — **οἶνῳ . . . αὐτήν**, *by mixing wine in it*, lit. *by mixing it with wine* (the means), G. 188, 1).

14. **Κύρου**: genitive object of **δεῖθηναι** (G. 172, N. 1). The object inf. **ἐπιθεῖται** (G. 260, 1) is in this case the acc. — **βουλόμενος**: Cyrus was the more willing to gratify her, since he saw the advantage of giving Syenneis a vivid impression of the strength of his army. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων**: the article repeated, because the Greeks and barbarians are not viewed as a single army, but as separate forces.

15. **ὅς . . . μάχην**, *as their custom (was) for battle* (sc. **ταχθῆναι**). **νόμος**, *regulation, custom, law*, from **νέμεσθαι**, *to distribute, portion out*. — **στήνειν**, *to take their places, not to stand*. — **ἴκαστον**: sc. **στρατηγόν**. — **ἐπι τεττάρων**, *four deep*. This made the front of the army very extended. — **εἰχε**: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — **τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, κ. τ. λ.**: the positions were respectively *the right, the left, and the centre*, named in the order of danger and honor. *The right* was the most honorable position, because a flank attack on this side left the soldier unprotected, the shield

being carried on the left arm. — *εὐώνυμον*: *εὖ* and *ὄνομα*, properly *of good name* or *omen*. Hence *left*, used euphemistically to avoid the ill-omened word *άριστερός*, omens from the left being unlucky with the Greeks.

16. *πρώτον μὲν*: correlated by *εἴτε δὲ* in the next line. For the comparison of *πόλεις*, see G. 73, 2. — *καὶ θαλασσαῖς τάξεις*, *by* (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c) *troops and companies*, respectively of cavalry and infantry. — *τάξις* (*ταγ-σις*), properly a *drawing up*, as of troops, see G. 129, 3. — *τοὺς Ἑλληνας*: governed by *θεάσει*, above. — *παρελαύνων*: Cyrus rode by the Greeks with Eryxha rather than have them march by him, probably because in this way they presented a more solid and imposing front. — *δρῦμα*, *chariot* (two-wheeled); *ἅμαξα*, *wagon*; *ἀρυ-ἅμαξα*, *easy-carriage* (four-wheeled), for women and children. — *χαλκᾶ*: derived from *χαλκός* (G. 129, 14). — *ἐκκεκαλυμμένας*, *uncovered*, a circumstantial part. of manner (G. 277, 2).

17. *στήσας*: first aorist and so transitive; for its relation to *τέμψιας*, see note on *ἰπτολαβάνων* in i. 1. — *πρό*, *before* (G. 191, I. 4 a). — *μέστις*: cf. *μέστουν* in § 7 and note. — *προβαλέσθαι τὰ σπλα*, *to present (throw before themselves their) arms*. — *δλῆν τὴν φάλαγγα*, *the phalanx in a body* (G. 142, 4, n. 5). — *οἱ δὲ*, *but they* (G. 143, 1, n. 2). — *ἐσάλπιγξ*: an impers. verb (G. 134, n. 1 d). — *ἐκ δὲ . . . σκηνάς*, *and they (sc. αὐτῶν, G. 278, 1) after this* (G. 191, I. 3 b) *advancing more and more rapidly with a shout, of their own accord the soldiers* (G. 184, 4) *began to run toward the camp*.

Page 7. — *αὐτόματος*, *acting of one's own will* (*αὐτός* and *μάω*, *to desire eagerly*), Eng. *automaton*. — *ἐν τὰς σκηνάς*: to give the barbarians the impression that they intended an attack. In the next section the Greeks, it is said, *ἐν τὰς σκηνὰς ἤλθον*, *dispersed to their own tents*.

18. *βαρβάρων*: subjective gen. (G. 167, 2). With *φόβος*, sc. *ἡν.* — *καὶ . . . τε . . . καὶ*: the first *καὶ* connects the statement that precedes with the double (*τε . . . καὶ*, *both . . . and*) one that follows. — *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον*, i. e. *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον*. Cf. § 3, and i. 1. 5. — *λαμπρότητα*: from *λαμπτός* (see G. 129, 7). — *τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος*: position (G. 142, 2, n. 2, end). — *ἥσθῃ*: see *ἥδομαι*. — *τὸν . . . ιδών*, *seeing the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians* (G. 141, n. 3).

19. *ταύτην . . . Ἑλλησιν*, *this country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder* (G. 265). It is at this point that Cyrus first gets out of his own satrapy. — *πολέμως*: from *πολέμος* (G. 129, 12). — *ὡς οὐταν*, *on the ground that it was* (G. 277, n. 2).

20. *τὴν ταχίστην ὁδὸν*, *by the shortest road* (G. 159, n. 5), peculiar use of the cogn. acc. (G. 159) to include the road or way over which motion proceeds. — *ἀπομέμπεται*, *συνέπεμψεν*: cf. note on *ἀναβαίνει*, *ἀνέβη*, i. 1. 2. — *στρατιώτας*: without the article, as if attracted into the rel. clause, *οὓς στρατιώτας*, *κ. τ. λ.* (G. 154). — *αὐτόν*, *himself*, i. e. Menon. — *μετά*: properly *among* (G. 191, VI. 3). Here *in company with*. — *Δάνα*: a neut. pl. See map for the two routes into Cilicia here mentioned. — *ἐν φ*: sc. *χρόνῳ*, and cf. *ἐν αἷς* in § 10. — *φοινικιστὴν βασιλεὸν*, *a wearer of the royal purple* (*φοινιξ*), i. e. a nobleman of the highest rank. — *καὶ ἔπερον . . . δυνάστην*, *and a certain other powerful man of his subordinates*. In i. 8. 5

Ariæus is called ὑπαρχος (lit. subordinate commander). Give the Eng. der. from Συνάστης. — ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ: his charge was, ἐπιβουλέουσιν ἔμοι (G. 260, 2).

21. ἡ εἰσβολὴ: the so-called Πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας. — ἀμοξ-ιτός: give the der. and cf. G. 131, 1. — ἀμήχανος . . . στρατεύματι, impracticable for an army (G. 184, 3) to enter (261, 1). — εἰ τις ἤκαλεν, if there was anybody to oppose (lit. trying to prevent, G. 200, n. 2) them. — εἶναι ἐν τῶν δικρών: not with the intention of real opposition, but to give color to his asserted allegiance to the king. — εἶναι: quoted (G. 246). — διδ, therefore, i. e. διὰ τοῦ. — ὑπεραίρει: sc. ἡμέρᾳ. For the case, see G. 180. — διτι λελοιπότες εἴη, κ. τ. λ.: the messenger's announcement continues to the end of the section. He said, λελοιπε, or λελοιπότας ἦστι (see G. 118, 4), Συγγένεις, κ. τ. λ., Syennesis has left the heights since (ἐπειδεὶ) he learned, etc., and because (καὶ διτι) he heard, etc. The clause beginning διτι τὸ Μένονος is quoted after ἥσθετο (see on this form G. 247, with n. 2), ἦν occurring where εἴη or ἦστι would be more regular (G. 243, n. 2). The order of the last of the sentence is, διτι ἤκουε (G. 247) Ταμών (G. 42, 2) ἔχοντα (G. 280) τριήρεις περιπλεύσις. The τριήρεις περιπλεύσις, being a much more important fact than the Ταμών ἔχοντα, is put first, and seems to be the clause quoted after ἤκουε, but is not.

22. οὖν, at any rate, i. e. whatever the reason was that Syennesis left the heights. Cf. § 12. — οὐδενὸς καλόντος, without hindrance, manner (G. 278, 1). — τὰς σκηνάς, the camp, antecedent of the relative adverb οὗ, where.

Page 8. — ἐφύλαττον: cf. ἤστω in i. 1. 6, ἐνύγχανεν in i. 1. 8. — ἀνθι, κατέβαινεν: mark the change of tense. — ἐπιστρέψοντο: der.? see G. 15, 2. — δένδρων: with σύμπλεων (G. 180, 1). — σύμπλεων: Attic second dec. (G. 64). — πολύ: agreement (G. 138, n. 1 a). — φέρει: not the hist. pres. Cf. note on ἀθροίζονται, i. 1. 2. — δρός (Mt. Taurus) δ' αὐτὸν (i. e. τὸ πεδίον) περιέχει, κ. τ. λ.: see the map.

23. Ταρούς, Tarsi or Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul. — ἤστω: irregular agreement (G. 135, 2). Cf. § 7. — μέσον: neut. of μέσος used as a noun, as in the phrase μέσον τήμερος, midday. The following gen. is part. (G. 167, 6). — δύναμα, εἴρος: acc. of specification (G. 160, 1). — πλέθρων: limits ποταμός (G. 167, 5), not εἴρος.

24. οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες: substantively (G. 276, 2). — εἰς, ἐντι: with the acc. in each case, because of the subsequent motion implied in ἐξειπτον, abandoned the city for (and fled into) a stronghold up on the mountains. — πλὴν οἱ . . . ἔχοντες: sc. οὐκ ἐξειπτον. — οἱ παρὰ . . . οἰκοῦντες: cf. τοῖς ἄντερ 'Ελλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, i. 1. 9 and note. Those that remained did so for purposes of trade with the army and fleet respectively.

25. πρότερα . . . ἀφίκετο, reached Tarsi five days (G. 188, 2) before (G. 138, n. 7) Cyrus (G. 175, 1). For the comparison of πρότερος, see G. 73, 2. — εἰς τὸ πεδίον: adjectively (G. 142, 1 N. & 2). — οἱ μέν . . . οἱ δέ, some . . . others (G. 143, 1). — ὁρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι, had been cut to pieces (G. 260, 2) while committing some act of plunder (G. 159, N. 2). — τὸ ἄλλο, the rest of (G. 142, 2, n. 3). — εἴτα, then, taking up the two pre-

ceding participles. — οὖν, however that was. Cf. § 22. — ἐκατόν: ordinarily a single λόχος numbered 100 men.

26. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, i. e. of Menon's army. Emphatic position, as also below, Κύρος δὲ ἦτε, κ. τ. λ. — τοὺς Ταρσούς: appositive (G. 137). — διηρπασσαν: mark the force of the prep. — μετεπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. 1. 2. — δὲ οὐτε . . . οὐτε . . . ἥθελε, but he both declared that he had never before, etc., and was then unwilling, etc. The Greek often says οὐκ ἔφη ἀθέλειν, where we say he said that he did not go, οὐ φέμεν having the sense I deny. Here οὐτε . . . ἔφη . . . οὐτε . . . ἥθελε, lit. he neither declared (i. e. he denied) nor wished, is perfectly regular, though it cannot be translated literally. In οὐτε . . . ἔφη the direct discourse was ἥλθον (G. 246); in οὐτε . . . ἥθελε there is no indirect discourse. — οὐδενί (G. 283, 9): the dat. follows εἰς χειρας ἀθέλειν (G. 186, N. 1), which implies union or approach, and commonly means to come to a conflict with some one, and here properly to come into close relations with (or into the hands of) some one. See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. χειρ, II. d. — λίναι : sc. εἰς χειρας. — πρὶν ἔπεισε, θλαψε (G. 240, 1). Note the change of subject in θλαψε.

27. Κύρος δέ: sc. ἔβακε. — παρὰ βασιλεῖ, at court, i. e. at the great King's, the article being omitted. — χρυσο-χάλινον, with gold-studded bridle (χάλινός). — ἀκινάκην, a short sword.

Page 9.—ἀφαράζεσθαι: one of the obj. of ἔβακε supplied above (G. 260, 1). So ἀπολαμβάνειν in the next line. — τὰ δὲ . . . ἀπολαμβάνειν, and (the privilege of) taking back the slaves that had been seized, if they (i. e. Syene-sis and the Cilicians) should fall in with them (i. e. the slaves) anywhere (G. 223). The apodosis is the inf. (fut. in time) ἀπολαμβάνειν. In place of ἣν τους ἐντυγχάνωσιν we might have had εἴ τους ἐντυγχάνοιεν (G. 248, 1).

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: A delay of 20 days at Tarsi is caused by the Greek soldiers, who now suspect that they are being led against Artaxerxes and refuse to go farther. Clearchus, who attempts to force his own troops forward, narrowly escapes being stoned to death. Afterwards, seeming to yield to their wishes, he calls them together and after shedding many hypocritical tears (1–3) details the benefits he has received at the hands of Cyrus, but nevertheless declares his intention to desert him and accompany them wherever they may go (4–6). More than 2000 men desert Xenias and Pasion, and encamp with Clearchus (7). Cyrus sends for Clearchus, who refuses to go but returns an encouraging message (8). Clearchus again assembles his soldiers, and in a cunningly constructed address points out to them the difficulties which lie in the way of their withdrawal from Cyrus (9–12). He is followed by several others (13), one of whom proposes a plan at some length which another immediately proves to be nonsense, both acting at the secret suggestion of Clearchus. They finally agree to send to Cyrus and ask his designs (14–19). Cyrus answers that he wishes to march against Abrocomas, and promises them half again as much pay as before, whereupon they agree to follow him (20, 21).

1. οὐκ ἤφασαν λέναι, refused to go, said they would not go. Cf. i. 2. 26, and note, and μισθωθῆναι. Βέ οὐκ ἤφασαν, below. — τοῦ πρόσω, forward, a prose use of the gen. of place (G. 179, 2), like the adverbs in οὐ, as τοῦ, where, δύοι, in the same place, together, etc. — ὑπάπτενον: cf. i. 1. 1.— ἐπὶ τούτῳ, for this (G. 191, VI. 2, 2 a). — πρώτος: he was the first to do it; πρώτον would mean, he did this first, and something else afterwards. πρώτον μέν, on the other hand (correl. to εἰτα δέ below in § 2), means in the first place. Cf. i. 2. 16. — ἐμβάλετο: attempted action (G. 200, N. 2). But below the aor. ἤρξατο, (actually) began to move forward. Clearchus is said in ii. 6. 8 to have been a man of stern will. — ἐμβαλλον, stoned, sc. τοῖς λίθοις (G. 188, 1), as appears from κατατερψθῆναι in § 2.

2. μικρόν, by a little, narrowly (G. 160, 2). — μή: added to the inf. to strengthen the neg. idea contained in ξέφυγε (G. 283, 6). — κατατερψθῆναι, being stoned to death (κατά). — ξένω, had come to know (cf. note on τελεύτησε, i. 1. 3), and so perceived. — δέ τι δυνήσεται: quoted (G. 243; 280, N. 3). — ἐκ-κληστα (καλέω): the Eng. der.?—δέάκρυε . . . ἔστρε, stood (G. 124, 1) and wept a long time (G. 161). — τοιάδε: with ref. to what follows (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, fellow-soldiers, ἄνδρες prefixed as a term of respect, as in the phrase of the courts, ἄνδρες δικασται. Clearchus deals with the difficulty with great skill. — μὴ θαυμάζετο: pres. imperative in prohibition (G. 254). — χαλεπώς . . . πράγμασι, am greatly distressed (φέρω intrans.) on account of the present troubles (G. 188, 1). πρᾶγμα is properly the thing done (G. 129, 4). — ξένος: cf. note on ξένος in i. 1. 10. — ἐρένετο, became, not was, cf. i. 1. 9. — τά τε . . . καί, both honored in other ways (G. 160, 1) and in particular, etc. — οὐς . . . οὐκ . . . ιδαπάνων, which I did not, when I had received them, lay up for myself (used reflexively) for private use (or, more freely, did not devote to my own personal use), and (lit. but) did not even squander in pleasure (κατά, τίδε, πάσχω), but expended (impf.) on you.

4. ὑπέρ, for, in behalf of (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — ἐτιμωρούμην (sc. εἰτούς), took vengeance upon or punished (them). τιμωρεῖν = to avenge, τιμωρεῖσθαι (mid.) = to avenge one's self upon (some one). — ἀφαιρεῖσθαι: double obj. (G. 164, with N. 2). — ἵνα . . . ἐκείνουν, that, in case he should have (we might have had) έάν τι δένται, G. 248, N.; Moods and Tenses, § 55, 2) any (G. 172, N. 1) need (of me), I might aid (G. 216, 1) him in return for the benefits I had received from him, i. e. ἀντὶ τούτων ἀν (G. 153, with N. 1) εἴ παθον (G. 165, N. 1²) ὅπ' ἐκείνουν.

5. οὗτος: emphatic (G. 144, 1). So ξύνω, below. Cf. also the beginning of § 6. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἐστι. — φιλίᾳ: an instrumental dat. (G. 188, I, N. 2). — εἰ, whether (G. 282, 4). — δίκαια: der. from δίκη (G. 129, 12). — οὖν: cf. note on οὖν, i. 2. 12. — δὲ τι δέη (sc. πάσχειν): a cond. rel. sent. (G. 232, 3). — οὐτοτε οὐδέτος: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). — ὡς εἰλόμην: quoted without change of mood (G. 243). Give the form of the verb in dir. disc. — ἀγαγόν, προδόύσ: for the relation of the two participles, see the note on ἀπολαβόν τοὺς φεύγοντας in i. 1. 7, and cf. στήσεις . . . πίκης . . . ἐκθευτε in i. 2. 17.

Page 10. — 6. ἐμοῖ : dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — δ τι... πέσομαι : for the use of the moods, cf. § 5, above. — καλ... καλ... καλ, *equally... and... and*. — σὺν τῷν, i. e. if *I should remain with you*, is the prot. (G. 226, 1) to the following δν εἶναι, which stands by quot. (G. 246) for δν εἶην. In the alternative sentence that follows, the prot. to δν εἶναι lies in ἔρημος δν, = ει... εἶην (G. 226, 1; 277, 4). The cond. rel. clause δπου δν ἦ, ubique ero, presents the supposed future case more vividly than the more regular δπου εἶην would have done, — *wherever I may be, for wherever I might be*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 63, 4, (a). The opt. with δν, it should be remembered, is sometimes merely a softened expression for the fut. indic. (G. 226, 2, N. 1). — τίμος : der. from the same stem with τιμή (G. 129, 12). — οὐκόν : gen. after an adj. of want (G. 180, 1). — οὐκ δν ικανός εἶναι (= οὐκ δν ικανός εἶην): δν (still belonging to εἶναι) is repeated after οὐκ before each of the dependent infinitives (G. 212, 2). — ὡφελῆσθαι, ἀλέξασθαι : infinitives limiting ικανός (G. 261, 1). — ὡς... ἔχετε, *be of this opinion, therefore, that I shall go, etc.*; or more lit., to show the force of the causal gen. abs. with ὡς (G. 278, 1², end), *since, therefore, I shall (as I say, ὡς) go, etc., be of this mind*. — δπῃ δν καλ τῷνεis : sc. ήγει (*Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, N. 2²).

7. ταῦτα : with reference to what precedes (G. 148, N. 1). — οἱ τε, the art. receiving the accent from the following enclitic. — δτι... πορεύεσθαι : explanatory of ταῦτα (G. 243). The direct discourse of οὐ φαίη πορεύεσθαι would be οὐ φημι πορεύεσθαι, *I deny that I am going* (see note on i. 2. 26). — πλέον for πλεόνεις (G. 72, 2, N. 1). — ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο : der. from στρατοπεδον (G. 131, 1). — Note that παρά occurs in this section with each of the three cases (G. 191, N. 1).

8. τούτοις : dat. of cause (G. 188, 1). — στρατιωτῶν : gen. with adverb (G. 182, 2, end). — αὐτῷ : indir. obj. (G. 184, 1). — θεγε θαρρεῖν, *bade him not to be discouraged* (G. 260, 1): λέγω in this use is equivalent to κελεύω; so εἰπον when used with the inf. (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ὡς... δέον, *since this matter would be settled* (G. 278, 1²) *in the right way* (G. 139); ὡς (G. 277, N. 2) shows that the participial sentence gives the ground on which Clearchus bade Cyrus to be encouraged. — μεταπέμπεσθαι, *to continue to send for (him)*. — αὐτὸς... λέναι, *but for himself* (modifies subj. of λέναι, G. 188, N. 8) *he said he should not go*. αὐτὸς marks the opposition of the two persons, the thought being: “*You continue to send for me, but still I'll not go*.”

9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, *after this* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — θ', i. e. τε (G. 17, 1). τῶν... βουλόμενον, *any one of the rest* (G. 168) *that wished* (G. 276, 2). — τὰ Κύρου: πράγματα omitted (G. 141, N. 4). — δῆλον : sc. ἐστι. — οὐτως... ἔκενον, i. e. *his relations to us are in just* (*περ in ὥσπερ*) *the same position as ours to him*. — ἔτει γε, *since at any rate*. — ήμν : with the following noun (G. 185). — μισθο-δότης: compound noun expressing the agent (G. 131, 1; 129, 2 b).

10. μέντοι: used in sinister sense: “*Though our relations are at an end, he may, however, not be done with us*.” — καλ μεταπεμπόμενον αὐτοῦ, *though*

he continues to send, etc. (G. 277, N. 1b). — τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, *chiefly* (G. 160, 2): the correl. follows in ήτα καλ. — αλοχυόρεος, *from shame*. — ἐψημάρος: quoted after σύνοδα (G. 280, N. 2). — μὴ . . . έπιθη: obj. clause (G. 218). — δίκην ἀν . . . ήδικήσθαι, *punishment for those things* (sc. τούτων limiting δίκην, G. 153, N. 1) *in which* (διν for δι, cognate acc., G. 159, N. 2) *he thinks he has been wronged* (G. 260, 2) *by me*, — i. e. *punishment for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered from me*.

11. ἐποι . . . καθεύδειν, *the time, therefore, does not seem to me to be (one) for sleeping* (G. 261, 1). **δοκέι** in the sense simply of *to seem* takes the inf. in indir. disc. (G. 246). In the sense of *to seem good or best*, as in the phrase δοκεῖ ἀπέιναι, *below*, the accompanying inf. is not in indir. disc. In either case it is the subj. (not obj.) of **δοκέι**. Cf. the uses of *videor* in Lat. — τίμων αὐτῶν, *ourselves* (G. 80; 171, 2). — δι πι χρή: an indir. question (G. 149, 2²). — ἐκ τούτων, *next* (G. 191, I. 3 b), expressing time (sequence) with an implied idea of consequence, *in consideration of, in consequence of, the present circumstances*. — ἕως μένομεν αὐτῷ, *as long as, while, we are staying here* (αὐτῷ, adv.). **ἕως** with the pres. ind. never can mean *until*. — σκεπτέον εἶναι: in the dir. form (G. 246) σκεπτέον ἔστι (G. 281, 2). — δοξαλεότατα: superlative adv. (G. 75). — ὅπερ μένομεν: an obj. clause after a verb of *caring for* with the subj. (G. 217, N. 1). But in the alternative sentence we have the reg. constr. (G. 217), **ὅπερ** διπλεν (G. 200, N. 3 b), **ὅπερ** φορεν. Many editions have *μενόμεν* for *μένομεν* by conjecture.

Page 11. — **ἄνευ**, *without* (G. 191, I. 5). — **οὔτε . . . οὔτε**, *neither general* (G. 167, 1) *nor private is of any use*.

12. δι δ' ἄνθρ . . . φιλος ἦ, *but the man (i. e. Cyrus) is a valuable* (lit. *worth much*, G. 178, N.) *friend, to whomsoever he is a friend* (G. 233). — ἰχθύς, πολέμος, i. e. whomsoever he is at war with (ἐν πολέμῳ), he comes to hate as a personal enemy, so earnest is he. — ναυτικήν: from ναῦτης, a sailor, and that from ναῦς. Note the suff. in each case, ικός, τηρ. — δρολός: with πάντες, *which we all alike*. — δοκοῦμέν μοι καθῆσθαι: cf. δοκεῖ in § 11, and the note. — αὐτῷ: construe with πόρρω, *at a distance from him* (G. 182, 2). — ἄρα (sc. ἔστι): cf. § 11, above.

13. ἐκ τούτου, *after this, upon this*. — ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου: cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, i. 2. 17. — λέσσοτες, *to say* (G. 277, 3); in the next line ἐπιδεκύντες, *showing* (G. 277, 3 and 6; *Moods and Tenses*, § 109, 5, last ex.). — ἐκείνου, i. e. Clearchus. — εἴη: indir. question (G. 249). — ἀπόρα: give its derivation. — μένειν, ἀπέιναι: with ἀπόρια (G. 261, 1).

14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἴπε, *but one in particular proposed*. Both this man and the one who answered him in § 16 doubtless spoke at the instigation of Clearchus. — θέσθαι: with εἴπε, with which in the sense of *propose or command* the inf. is not in indirect disc. (*Moods and Tenses*, § 15, 2, N. 3). Cf. § 8. The six following infinitives, beginning with ἀγοράζεσθαι, have the same construction with θέσθαι. The conditional sentences dependent on these inf., εἰ μὴ βούλεται and εὰν διδῷ (bis), — being dependent clauses in indirect discourse, — might have been each in the opt. (G. 248, 1), although εἰ βούλεται would have been ambiguous. So δια μὴ φθάσωσι might have

been opt., like ὡς ἀποπλέουεν, above (G. 248, n.). — ή δ' ἀγορὰ . . . στρατεύματι: thrown in parenthetically by the historian to show the absurdity of the proposition. — αἰτεῖν: with two accs. (G. 164). — πλοῖα: *transport-vessels, boats.* — οὖν μὴ διδῷ: the verb of the apod. is αἰτεῖν, which after εἴπει, *proposed*, is fut. in force. See G. 223. — φίλια (sc. οὐσῆς): pred. adj. (G. 138. Rem.). — δοτις ἀπάξια: purpose (G. 236). — μηδέ, *not even* (G. 283, 2). — συντάπτεσθαι, ἀγοράζεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθαι: the three uses of the mid. voice (G. 199, 1, 2, 3). — τὴν ταχίστην: adv. acc. (G. 160, 2). — προκαταληφομένους: sc. ἄνδρας. The part. expresses purpose (G. 277, 3). — τὰ ἄκρα, i. e. of Mt. Taurus, the pass by which they had entered Cilicia. — δικαὶος φθάσωσι: purpose (G. 216). Note the three ways in which purpose has been expressed in this section. — θέτος . . . καταλαβόντες, *might not seize them first* (G. 279, 4). — ὁν (the antec. is οἱ Κλεικεῖ) is a part. gen. with πολλούς, but a poss. gen. with χρήματα (G. 167, 1 and 6). — πολλούς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα, *many men (as captives) and much property.* — ξόμεν ἀνηρτακότες = ἀνηρτάκαμεν καὶ ξόμεν: notice the sudden change to direct discourse. — τοσοῦτον, *so much only (as follows).* This refusal to take the lead would embarrass them still more.

15. ὡς μὲν . . . λεγέτω, *let no one speak of me as likely to be general on this occasion;* the part. with ὡς after λεγέτω on the analogy of the constr. explained in G. 280. See also *Moods and Tenses*, § 113, n. 10, (c). — στρατηγίαν: cogn. acc. (G. 159). — μηδέσ: prohibition (G. 254). — ἐν·ορᾶ, *see in the undertaking.* — τοιητέον: sc. ἔστι (G. 281). Since τοῦτο is in the neut. sing. the construction may be regarded either pers. or impers. at pleasure. — ὡς πελομαῖ: sc. οὕτω λέγετε from the preceding μηδέσ λεγέτω. — δν δν θληθε (G. 232, 3), *quemcunque elegeritis.* We might have had φ δν (G. 153), for which there is slight MS. authority. — ή δυνατὸν μάλιστα, *to the best of my ability;* μάλιστα belonging to πελομαῖ, and ή, as (G. 87, 2), to ἔστι understood with δυνατόν. Cf. ὡς μάλιστα, ὡς τάχιστα, and note on διτις ἀπαρασκευότατον, i. 1. 6. — ἴνα εἰδῆτε: purpose (G. 216). — Επι καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων, *that I know how also to submit to authority as well as any other man that lives;* μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, *in the highest degree (best of all men, G. 168),* belongs to ἐπισταμαῖ, and is really superfluous to the sense after ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, *(as well) as any other man whatsoever (καὶ being emphatic).* For the latter, ε τις καὶ ἄλλος is more common (see i. 4. 15).

16. εὐθείαν: from εὐθῆς, *simple-minded,* from εὖ and θεος. Note the suffix (G. 129, 7). — ὡστέρ . . . ποιουμένου, *just as (we might ask for them, G. 277, n. 3), if Cyrus should make his expedition back again,* i. e. should give up his plans and return home, so as not to need the boats longer. Κύρου ποιουμένου = ει Κύρος ποιώτο. — ὡς εὐθεῖς εἴη, *that it was silly* (G. 243), corresponding to τὴν εὐθείαν in the clause with μέν. In the dependent clause φ λυμανόμεθα there is a change to direct discourse (otherwise we should have λυμανόνται or λυμανόντο, G. 247), which continues to the close of the speech in § 19. — παρὰ τοῖντον: in the place of the simple τοῦτον. (Cf. the const. with αἰτεῖν in § 14). — φ: dat. of dis-

advantage (G. 184, 3). — πρᾶξις, i. e. πραγ-σις (G. 129, 3), i. e. *plan of operations*.

Page 12. — εἰ πιστεύσομεν (G. 221, N.), *if we propose to trust*; not equivalent to έὰν πιστεύσωμεν, *if we shall trust*. — τί κωλύει . . . προκαταλαμβάνειν (ironical) : the order is τί κωλύει (sc. ἡμᾶς) καὶ κελεύειν Κ. προκ τὰ ἀκρα ἡμῖν; The meaning is, that if they propose to trust Cyrus's guide, they might as well show still greater confidence in Cyrus himself, and tell him to secure the heights for them!

17. ἐγώ: emphatic. — γάρ: the sect. states the grounds for the distrust of Cyrus which the speaker would entertain under the conditions supposed. — ἀ δοῦι: cond. rel.-clause (G. 232, 4); so also φ (G. 153) δοῦι, following. — μὴ καταδύῃ: obj. clause after a verb of fearing (G. 218); so μὴ ἀγάπη following. — αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι, *triremes and all* (G. 188, 5). The trireme (τρεῖς, δρός; Lat. tri-rēmis) was a war-vessel with three banks of oars. It is hardly possible that the πλοΐα, *transports* for troops, here mentioned, can be soberly called *triremes*; it is probable that αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι is added to καταδύῃ to heighten the absurdity, — “*fleet and all*,” as we sometimes say “horse, foot, and dragoons” or “bag and baggage.” There is, however, some MS. authority for omitting αὐταῖς, in which case ταῖς τριήρεσι will mean by *his own triremes*. — φοβούμην: a stronger word than δκνώ, used to indicate a climax of feeling. — οὐκεν, i. e. ἀκτεονεθεν, *to the place from which*. — οὐχ οἶον τε ξετα, *it will not be possible* (G. 151, N. 4²). The antecedent of ξετα is obviously definite (note the neg., G. 230). If he had wished to speak less vividly he would have said, θετε οὐκέ άν οἶον τε εἴη: — ἀπιών = εἰ ἀπιώμι (G. 277, 4). — δκνος Κύρου, sc. δγρος: the adjs. ἔκών and ἄκων are often used in this way without ον, as if themselves participles. — λαθεν . . . ἀπελθών, *to get off without his knowing it* (G. 279, 4).

18. ἀνδρας: subj. of ἔρωτάν. The whole sentence from ἀνδρας to the end of § 19 (except the parenth. οὔτω . . . ἀπιώμεν) is the subj. of δοκει—οίτινες, such as are (sc. εἰσι). — τι . . . χρήσθαι, *what* (G. 149, 2²) use he wishes to make of us (G. 188, 1, N. 2, entire). The same use of the cases in οἴτηπερ (for οἴτηπερ by assimilation, G. 153) . . . τοῖς ξένοις. — πρόσθεν: for the time referred to, cf. i. 1. 2.

19. τῆς πρόσθεν, *than the former one*, sc. πράξεως (G. 175, 1). — άν φαίνηται, άξιον: note the not infrequent use of the inf. in a future sense as the apod. of this class of cond. sentence (G. 223). A case just precedes in § 18 in έὰν ή̄ ξπεσθαι, and another follows in δ τι δ' άν λέγη ἀναγγελαι (G. 232, 3). — άξιον, *demand*, i. e. the deputies (**ἀνδρας**) mentioned in § 18. ἀναγγελαι has the same subj.; but βουλεύεσθαι has ἡμᾶς expressed. — πέσαντα: e. g. by means of greater pay. Cf. § 21. — πρὸς φίλαν, *in friendship*. — ἐπόμενοι, ἀπιώντες: these might be respectively εἰ ἐπούμεθα, εἰ ἀπιώμεν (G. 277, 4). — φίλοι, πρθμυμοι: pred. adjs. Give the der. of πρόθυμος. — πρὸς ταῦτα, *with respect to this* (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 c).

20. έδοξε ταῦτα, *this was approved*. The ordinary beginning of an Athenian decree was ταῦτα έδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, i. e. *be it enacted by the*

Senate and the People. — *τηρέτων τὰ δόξαντα, made the inquiries agreed upon* (i. e. & *εἴδογεν*). For the dat. with δοκίω in this sense (*to seem good or best*), see G. 184, 2. — *ὅτι ἀκούει*: he said *ἀκούω*, *I have heard*, etc. The Greek, like other languages, often uses the pres. of such verbs as *I hear*, *I learn*, *I say*, even when their action is strictly finished (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 5). — *ἔχθρον ἀνδρα*: note the difference between *ἔχθρός* and *πολίμιος* (see note on § 12, above). — *ἔλευται*, *was*, as a matter of hearsay, while *ἔντα* would have implied more responsibility for the fact on the part of the speaker (G. 280, with N. 3). — *ἀπέχοντα . . . σταθμοῖς, twelve stages off or distant* (*ἀπέχοντα* with *Ἄβροκόμαρ*, G. 276, 1). — *πρὸς τοῦτον, to him*, with an implied sense of *against*, which would be expressed properly by *ἐπει*. — *χρήσιμας ἐπιθετῶν*: give the dir. form. — *ἡμεῖς ἔκει, κ. τ. λ.*: the quot. here becomes direct. It should be noted with what remarkable ease the Greek, contrary to the Eng. idiom, allows this transition from the indirect to the direct form. Cf. § 16.

21. *αἱρέοι*: verbal from *αἱρέω* (G. 117, 3). — *τοὺς δὲ . . . ἦν, but they had*, etc. (G. 143, 1, N. 2; 184, 4). — *ἰπ-οψίᾳ*: the suff. expresses action (cf. G. 129, 3). — *ὅτι ἄγει*: quoted without change of mood after *τοὺς δὲ ἴπνοψίᾳ ἦν = ἴπνάττενον δέ*. But below, after *ἡκουσεν*, with change of mood, *ὅτι ἄγει* (G. 243). — *πρὸς βασιλέα*: as *πρὸς τοῦτον* in § 20. — *ἔδόκει*: why *ἔδοκε* here, but *ἴδοξε* (aor.) in § 20? — *προσαιτοῦντι μαθόντι, ask additional (πρός) pay*. — *ἡμι-δόλιον*: der.? — *δάστει*: note the tense (G. 203, N. 2). — *οὐ, i. e. τούτου οὐ, than that which, οὐ for δ by attraction*: cf. § in § 17 and *οὐδὲπερ* in § 18. The gen. goes with *ἡμιόλιον*, which has the force of a comparative, *a half more* (G. 175, 1, N. 1). — *δαρεικοῦ*: see note on i. 7. 18. — *τοῦ μηνός, each month* (G. 179, 1). — *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ = φανερῷ* (G. 139, 2). This implies that there was a secret understanding of the real facts on the part of some. The soldiers accuse the generals of this in i. 4. 12. — By the expedient here described Cyrus led the Greeks nineteen stages farther inland (in place of the twelve proposed in § 20) before announcing publicly his real purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds to the river Psarus, thence to the river Pyramus, and finally reaches Issi upon the sea-coast, the last city in Cilicia (1). Here he remains three days, during which time his fleet arrives. He is also joined by the Greek mercenaries who desert from Abrocomas (2, 3). Hence he proceeds to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. Abrocomas does not attempt to bar his passage, but retreats towards Babylon (4, 5). Cyrus advances through Syria, and is deserted at Myriandrus by Xenias and Pasion. It is rumored that he will pursue them (6, 7); but calling his Greek generals together, he announces that he shall not do so. This decision pleases the Greeks, and they accompany him with greater alacrity (8, 9). He crosses the Psarus and reaches the sources of the Dardas, where he burns the palace of the Syrian governor (9, 10). At Thapsacus on the Euphrates he announces the real object of his expedition (11).

The troops refuse to go on without extra pay (12), which Cyrus agrees to give them. Menon, in the mean time, urges his troops to cross the Euphrates before the others decide, and so win the favor of Cyrus by seeming most forward in his service (13–15). They comply, and Cyrus expresses his satisfaction (16). He then crosses the Euphrates with the rest of his troops, and proceeds to the Araxes, where he remains three days (17–19).

Page 13.—1. It is now the last of spring, and the army has been on the march four months. The distance from Sardis thus far travelled is 222 parasangs. Review on the map the route travelled up to Tarsi. — στάδιον: the common Greek standard of length, equal to 606 $\frac{1}{4}$ Eng. feet, somewhat less than a furlong. This was the length of the στάδιον, or course for foot-races, at Olympia, which measured exactly 600 Greek feet. The noun is *heterogeneous* (G. 60, 2): cf. στάδιον in § 4. — ἔσχατην: without the art., where we should use it. Cf. i. 2. 10. — ἐπὶ . . . οἰκουμένην, situated (lit. *being inhabited*) close upon the sea.

2. Κύρῳ: for the case cf. αὐτῷ in i. 2. 4, and note. The fleet is the one already mentioned in i. 2. 21. — ἐπὶ αὐταῖς, over them, but below in § 3 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν (ἐπὶ with the gen.), on board the ships. — ναῦ-αρχος, admiral (for ναῦ see G. 131, 1, N.). — ἤγειτο δὲ αὐταῖς, conducted them (G. 171, 3, N.). — ἔτέρως, besides. So often ἄλλος. — ἐπολιόρκει, had been besieging; so συνεπολέμα: the subj. of both of these verbs is a pronoun referring to Tamos. Cf. for the tense ἔτυχανεν, i. 1. 8. — ὅτε ἦν, since it had been (G. 250). — αὐτόν, i. e. Tissaphernes.

3. μετάπεμπτος, sent for (G. 117, 3), equal to μεταπεμφθεῖς, and so followed by τὸ Κύρου (G. 197, 1). Chirisophus was sent with these troops from Sparta in return for the aid rendered the Lacedaemonians by Cyrus during the Peloponnesian War. He became in the retreat senior commander. — ὁν . . . Κύρου, the command of whom he (now) held under Cyrus. — ὥρμουν, lay at anchor, from ὥρμος, a roadstead. The quarters of Cyrus, it would appear, were pitched close upon the sea. — οἱ παρ' Αἴβροκόμαι: cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως in i. 1. 5, and note. For the gen. 'Αἴβροκόμα, see G. 39, 3. This Doric gen. in Attic is found chiefly in foreign proper names. — μισθο-φόροι: give its der. (G. 131, 1).

4. πύλας: the article omitted, the noun being used almost as a proper name. The pass itself is here meant. — ἡσαν δὲ ταῦτα, and these (gates) consisted of: ταῦτα for αὐταῖς because of τελχη, and ἡσαν for ἦν (G. 135, 2) because the two walls were in the writer's mind. — τὸ . . . τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας: position of the attrib. phrase (G. 142, 2). After ξωθεν, sc. τεχος. — εἶχε: not, of course, in person. — διὰ μέσου τούτων: cf. διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως, i. 2. 23, and note. — ἀπαν τὸ μέσον, the entire distance between. — τεχών: poss. gen. (G. 167, 1). — ἡσαν agrees with στάδιον (G. 135, N. 4). — καθήκοντα: to be connected with ἦν, ἦν καθήκοντα being equivalent to καθῆκε. — ὑπέρθεν, i. e. overhanging the pass. — ἐφεστήκεσαν πύλαι, gates had been set in each wall. Here πύλαι has its proper meaning of *gates*, large and double like those in a city wall.

5. ένεκα, *on account of* (G. 191, I. 5). Commonly placed after the word it governs, or one of the modifiers of that word (as here). — ἀποβιβάστεν, παρέθουεν: change of subj. Diff. between βιβάζω and βαίνω? — εἰσω καὶ ξύ, i. e. on both sides of the *Syrian* wall, that he might attack A. both in front and rear. The distance between the two walls was over a third of a mile (three stades). — εἰ φυλάττοεν: if the preceding optatives were sub-junctives (G. 216, 2) this clause might be τὰν φυλάττωσιν.

Page 14. — ἔτερ, *just the thing which*, referring to the clause just preceding. — ἔχοντα, *since he had* (G. 277, 2). — δύτα: quoted (G. 280). Cf. ἀκούει εἶναι in i. 3. 20, and note. — ὡς θέλεγε: probably personal, *as he was said*. Cf. i. 2. 8, note. — μυριάδας: Eng. der.?

6. ἐμπόριον, *mart*, Lat. and Eng. emporium, from ἐμπόρος (*τεράν*, πέρα, cf. πορείω), *a traveller, merchant*, distinguished from the κάπηλος (cf. τὸ καπηλεῖα, i. 2. 24) by his importing goods in person. — ήν: we might have had ήστι. Cf. ἀδρούονται in i. 1. 2, and note. — τὸ χωρίον: the subject; the predicate noun (here ἐμπόριον) generally omits the article. — αὐτόθι: formed with the suff. θι (G. 61). — ὀλκάς is (properly) *a ship that is towed* (Θλκω), merchantman.

7. Μεγαρέως: a gentile noun (see G. 129, 10). — τὰ . . . ἐνθέμενοι, *putting on board* (G. 199, 3) *their most valuable effects*. — ὡς μὲν, κ. τ. λ.: the correl. clause with δε is omitted; but μέν implies that there was another opinion in the camp. — διόκουν: personal; cf. note on δοκεῖ, i. 3. 11. — φιλοτιμηθέντες, *since they were jealous* (G. 277, 2): δητὶ . . . εἰς Κύρος is also causal (G. 250). — ἀπελθόντας: see i. 3. 7. — ὡς ἀποκτενών, i. 1. 3. — καὶ οὐ: sc. λόγτας from the preceding ἀπόντας. — διῆλθε λόγος, *a report went abroad*. — δητὶ διώκοι: quoted (G. 243). — τριήρεσι: the means (G. 188, 1). — ὡς δαλούς . . . ληφθῆναι, *that they might be captured, because* (in the opinion of οἱ μέν, G. 277, n. 2) *they were cowards*. — εἰ ἀλάσσοντο: fut. of ἀλίσκομαι. For the mood, G. 226, 4, n. 1; 248, 2. For εἰ ἀλάσσονται of the direct form, see G. 223, n. 1. Cyrus had already shown how severe he could be. Cf. i. 2. 20. A striking general instance of this is given in i. 9. 13.

8. ἀλλ' . . . ἐπιστάθσαν, *but, however, let them well* (emphasized by γέ) *know*. — ἀποδέρακασιν, ἀποτεφεύγασιν: the first means *to escape by stealth*, like a runaway slave; the second, *to escape by rapid flight*, so as not to be caught. The clauses that follow make this distinction clear. — δητὶ οὐχούται, *in what direction* (G. 87, 2) *they are gone* (G. 200, N. 3). — τριήρεσι, πλόιον: cf. note on i. 3. 17. — ὥστε θλέν: result (G. 266, 1). — μὴ τοὺς θεούς: note that the oath is neg. (G. 163). — οὐδὲ . . . οὐδεῖς: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). — ίῶς ἀν παρῇ τις, *as long as any one stays by me*, general suppos. in pres. time (G. 233). So ἐπειδάν βούληται. — αἵτοντάς: pl. though referring to τις. Cf. πάντας, i. 1. 5, and note. — κακῶς ποιῶ, *mal-treat* (G. 165, N. 1¹). — περί, *in respect to, to*. — φρουρούμενα, *guarded*, i. e. under the protection of the resident garrison. Though the modifier of both τέκνα and γυναῖκας, φρουρούμενα is neut., since these are looked upon as articles of property. For Tralles, see the map, Lydia. — τούτων στερήσονται:

the passive (G. 197, 1) of the const. explained in G. 164, N. 2. — By this unlooked-for clemency Cyrus got the good-will of the Greeks (cf. what immediately follows) and lost little; for though the generals deserted, their troops remained, numbering some 5000 or 6000.

9. *εἰ τις . . . ἀνάβασιν, if (there was) any one (who) was even somewhat discouraged in regard to the expedition.* — *τὴν ὅρείν, the magnanimity.*

Page 15. — μερὰ ταῦτα: mark the asyndeton. — θύτα, which was (G. 276, 1). — πλέθρον: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3) after θύτα modifying τομόν, τὸ εἴδος being an acc. of spec. (G. 160, 1); but below in § 10 τὸ εἴδος is the subj. of ἦν understood, πλέθρου having the same const. that it has here. For still another const., see i. 2. 5. — πράκτων, tame (G. 70, N. 2). — ἐνόμιζον, εἶων: cf. ἦν in § 6, and the note. For the two accs. after ἐνόμιζον, see G. 166. — ἀδικεῖν: sc. τινά as subj. — Παροντάδος . . . δεδομέναι, belonged to Parysatis (G. 169, 1), having been given her for girdle-money (cf. our “pin-money”).

10. Δάρδατος: the *Dardas*. See the map. Cyrus now gets into the valley of the Euphrates, but does not cross this river until eight days later at Thapseacus. — ἡσαν: cf. for the number, i. 2. 23, and note. — ἀρξαντος: note the tense. Belšys had probably fled on the approach of Cyrus, who in consequence treated the country as that of an enemy. — αὐτὸν κῆσκοι, cut it off; ἐκ-κόπτει means lit. to cut trees out of a wood. — κατέκαυτον: κατα-καλῶ, to burn down (or, as we sometimes say, to burn up); but ἀνακαλῶ, to kindle (kindle up), with reference to the direction of the flames.

11. Cyrus now openly declares the real object of the expedition, which must have already been apparent to the Greeks for some time. Cf. i. 3. 20, and i. 4. 5. They had continued on, however, intending at the Euphrates to demand higher pay (§ 12), which Cyrus now agrees (§ 13) to give them. — οἵτινοι: note the tense and give the dir. form (G. 243). — εἰς βασιλέαν: not at Babylon, but connect with η ὁδὸς ἐσοιτο directly.

12. ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν: cf. συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν in i. 3. 2. — ἔχαλτανον: a denom. verb in αἴνω (G. 130, 7) from χαλεπός. This anger of the soldiers was, doubtless, more or less feigned, to force from Cyrus the greater pay. — στρατηγοῖς: ease (G. 184, 2). — αὐτοὺς . . . κρύπτειν: what they said (speaking of them) was πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτειν (G. 200, N. 4), though they have known (G. 277, 5) this for a long time, they have been keeping it secret (G. 246); or, if they addressed them directly, which is more spirited, πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτειν. Eng. der. from κρύπτειν! — οὐκ ἔφασαν λέναι: cf. the same phrase i. 3. 1, and note. — τις: Cyrus, of course. — χρήματα: it was not an increase of their regular pay (*μισθός*) that they demanded, but a *bounty*. — ὥσπερ: sc. θώκε, as he had given it. — προτέρους: pred. to ἀναβάσιν (G. 138, 7); the verbal form would be of ἀνέβησαν πρότερον. Cf. προτέρα, i. 2. 25. The reference is to the 300 Greeks who accompanied Cyrus to Babylon at the time of his father’s death. — καὶ ταῦτα, and that too, sc. ἐποιησε. — λόντων: sc. ἐκείνων, referring to the οἱ ἀναβάντες. The part. λόντων is concessive (G. 277, 5), but καλοῦντος causal (G. 277, 2); the latter is opposed to ἐπι μάχην, not to λόντων.

13. ὅπερχετο δόσειν: he might have used δοῖναι or διδόναι (G. 203, n. 2). — πάντε μνᾶς: about \$90.00. The μνᾶ of 100 drachmas was $\frac{1}{6}$ of a talent; the latter was a weight of silver which at the present day would be worth about \$1080. — ἀργυρίου: genitive of material (G. 167, 4). — ἐτοι γήκωστι: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 3). So μέχρι ἂν καταστῆσῃ (G. 239, 2). — τὸν μισθὸν: a daric and a half a month (i. 3. 21). — ἐντελῇ: predicate adj. The der. of ἐτοι-τελής? — τὸ πολὺ, the greater part (G. 142, 2, n. 3 b). — πρὶν εἴην, before it was (G. 274). This const. occurs again in § 14 (in exactly the words used here) and in § 16. — πότερον . . . η̄: double indir. quest. (G. 282, 5). — οὐ̄: accented at the end of the sentence (G. 29, N. 1). The meaning of the word *proclitic*? — τῶν ἄλλων: case (G. 182, 2). — Give the dir. form of all the quoted sentences in this and the preceding section.

Page 16.— 14. πασθῆτε: the aor. mid. of this verb is not used, but the aor. pass. has the sense of the mid., obey. — οὔτε . . . τονήσαντες, without either toil or danger (G. 277, 2). — τῶν ἄλλων: with στρατιωτῶν, the rest of the soldiers (G. 142, 2, N. 3). The gen. is in a sort of double const., first with πλέον (G. 175, 1), and then with προ-τυμήσασθε (G. 177). The object is to emphasize the great advantage over the rest to be gained by following his advice. προτυμήσασθε is a mid. with pass. force. — τούς "Ελληνας: subj. of ἔπεισθαι, which in turn is the obj. of δεῖται.

15. ψηφίσωνται, to vote, properly by depositing the white or black pebble (ψῆφος) in the urn, but in fact of much broader application: ψῆφος, a worn stone, pebble, from ψάω, to rub. — ὅμεις . . . διαβάλνεται, you (emphatic) will have credit of being the cause of it, since you were the first to cross (G. 262, 2; 171, 1). — ὅμεις . . . ἀποδέσεται: χάριν οὖτα (fut. εἰσομαι) in the Lat. *gratiam habeo*, χάριν ἀποδέωμαι is *gratiam refero*. Transl. *Cyrus will feel his obligation to you and meet it*. — ἐπίσταται: sc. χάριν ἀποδέσναι. — εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος: cf. the clause at the end of i. 3. 15. — ἀπο-ψηφίσωνται, vote "No." — τοῦπταλιν, i. e. τὸ ἔμπταλιν (G. 11). — οὐ̄ . . . τεθομένοις (G. 277, N. 2) because (as he will feel) you alone carried out his wishes. — πιστοτάτοις χρήσται, will treat you as most trustworthy: see note on τῶν πιστών, i. 5. 15. — λοχαγίας: from λοχ-αγός, as στρατηγία from στρατ-ηγός. — ἄλλον . . . δέησθε (G. 232, 3), whatever else you may want: ἄλλον (for ἄλλο) agrees with οὐτίνος by inverted assimilation (G. 153, N. 4); it may, however, be explained as a genitive after τεχέσθε (G. 171, 1), although τυχάνω generally takes the accus. when a gen. of the source is added (G. 176, 1), as Κύρου here.

16. ἐπείθοντο, διβήσαν: note the diff. in tense. — διαβεβηκότες, that they had crossed (G. 280). — ήσθη: see i. 2. 18. — Γλούς, Glus, son of the admiral Tamis, ii. 1. 3. — Ἐγώ μὲν . . . μελήσαι: note the frequent expression of the pers. pron. in this section to emphasize the contrast. — δύτως ἐπαινέσσεται: this obj. clause (G. 217) is in fact here a gen. (G. 171, 2, N. 2).

17. εἰντυχήσαι: from εἰ-τυχής, fortunate (G. 130, 2). — θλέγετο πέμψαι, he was said to have sent, personal construction. — μεγαλωπρεῖς, with great liberality, from μεγαλο-πρεπής (G. 74, 1; 131, 1). — τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἄνων: the order of crossing was: Menon's force, Cyrus and the barbarians,

and then the rest of the Greek army. — ἀντέρεω: the comp. of the adverb ἄνω (G. 75, N. 1). — τῶν μαστῶν: μαστός is one of the breasts, στήρον (i. 8. 26) the breast, chest.

18. οἱ δὲ . . . πλοῖοι: what the inhabitants of Thapsacus said, supplying the ellipses necessary to the const., was οὐπότερος (οὐ-πά-ποτε) ὅδος ἡ πορεῦμὸς διαβατὸς (Βιαβάλη, G. 117, 3) ἐγένετο πεζῷ εἰ μὴ νῦν (except now, emphasizing οὐπότερος), ἀλλὰ (διαβατὸς ἐγένετο) πλοῖοις (G. 188, 1). Note the change of νῦν to τότε in passing from dir. to indir. disc. In the same way the person of the quoted verbs is often changed. — & τότε . . . διαβῇ: a statement added by the historian. — κατέκαστον: plur. in force. — ήν . . . διαβῇ: note the mood (G. 216, 2). — Βόκα δὴ . . . βασιλεύσονται, it appeared accordingly that it (i. e. the lowness of the river) was a divine intervention (G. 139, 1), and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus, because (he was) about to be king. The sentiment rather of the truculent Thapsaceni than of the historian.

19. ἐπεισίσαντο: because they were about to cross the desert of Arabia. See the map.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The march is continued through the desert of Arabia along the northern bank of the Euphrates (1). The horsemen hunt the wild animals in which the plain abounds (2, 3). The deserted city Corsôte on the river Mascas is reached (4). Thence Cyrus marches thirteen days through the desert, and many of the beasts of burden perish from hunger (5). Grain failing, the soldiers live upon flesh (6). Once during this time the wagons are stuck in the mud, and the Persian nobles assist the barbarians in getting them out (7, 8). Cyrus marches with the greatest speed possible, hoping to find the King unprepared (9). The soldiers cross the Euphrates, on rafts made of skins, to Charmande, where they purchase food and wine (10). Here a dispute arises between the troops of Clearchus and Menon, and Clearchus narrowly escapes being killed (11–14). Cyrus comes up and succeeds in quelling the disturbance (15–17).

Page 17. — 1. τῆς Ἀραβίας: occupied by roving tribes of Arabs called by Strabo Ἀραβῖς Σκηνῆται (from σκηνῆ). See map. — ἔχων, with (G. 277, 6). — ἐρήμους, desert. Eng. der.? — τόπῳ, region. — ἦν μὲν . . . θάλαττα, the ground was wholly a level plain, just like the sea: ἦναν to be construed with πεδίον, where we should expect rather ἦπασα modifying γῆ. Cf. iv. 4. 1. — ἀψινθίου: cf. Tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos. Ovid. Pont. iii. 1. 23. — ἀπαντά: plur., though the preceding ῥι is sing., if there was anything else, etc., they were all, etc. Cf. οἵτις . . . πάντας, i. 1. 5. — δένδρον . . . ἐνīν, but there was no tree (emphatic) in it.

2. πλεῖστοι, very many. — δύο ἀρίστοι: Crosby cites Job xxxix. 5–8. — στρουθίοι: the στρουθός was properly a small bird of the sparrow kind, but ὁ μέγας στρουθός, the ostrich. (Note the der. of the Eng. word ostrich.) ή στρουθός also (fem.) was used without μεγάλη in the same sense. Cf. § 3, below. — ἐτελ διάκονος, θυτασσον (G. 124, 1): for the opt. see G. 233.

So ἐνεὶ πλησάζοιεν, ἐποίουν. — ταῦτόν : for τὸ αὐτό (G. 79, 2, N., end). — καὶ οὐκ . . . διαδεχόμενοι, and it was impossible to capture them, unless the horsemen, taking their places at intervals, hunted (G. 225) them in succession (διαδεχόμενοι, sc. ἀλλήλοις). — ἔλαφειοι : sc. κρέατοι.

3. πολὺ γὰρ . . . χρωμένη, for it withdrew to a great distance in its flight, using its feet in running (manner, G. 188, 1), and its wings (by) raising them like a sail. — ἀν (i. e. ἀν) ἀνιστῆ, ἔστι (G. 28, N. 1, end) : general supposition in present time (G. 225). — ἦν resumes the narrative style.

4. πλεθυματος : we might have had πλεθρου (cf. i. 2. 23). — ἐρήμη : not uninhabited as opposed to οἰκουμένη (i. 2. 6), but abandoned. — ὄνομα δ' αὐτῆς (sc. ἔστι) has Κορσωτή as pred. nom., as if it were ὄνομάζεται δέ (Krüg.). For a different const. used to express the same thought, cf. i. 4. 11. — περιερρέπει : the pass. of a verb made trans. (the simple βέω, to flow, is intrans.) by the prep. in comp., as in Eng., was flowed about. — κύκλῳ : manner (G. 188, 1). — ἐπεστίταντο : Corsôte thus appears to have been a depot of supplies in the midst of the desert.

5. Πύλας, i. e. τὰς Βαβυλωνίας, the pass into Babylonia, on the north of the Euphrates. See map. — ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, from hunger (G. 191, VI. 7, 1 c). — ἀλλο, besides. — οὐδὲν οὐδέν (G. 283, 9). — ὄνος ἀλέτας, mill-stones. From the ass, as a beast of burden, the term ὄνος came to have various derived meanings, as windlass in Her. vii. 36 (ὄνοις ἐνιλνοῖσι), and here the upper mill-stone : ἀλέτας is a noun used adj., lit. grinders. — παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν : why the acc.?

Page 18. — 6. Δυνίς : Cyrus the Great, after subduing the Lydians, forbade them, at the suggestion of Croesus himself (Her. i. 155), the use of arms, and required them to teach their sons the arts of music and selling at retail. So they became a race of hucksters. — καὶ πρασθαί . . . στύλων : expressed in full this would be καὶ πρασθαί (τὸν στύλον) οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μή . . . βαρβαρικῷ (πρασθαί ἦν) τὴν καπέθην, κ. τ. λ. — ἀλεύρων : gen. of material (G. 167, 4). — τεττάρων στύλων : gen. of price (G. 178). — δύναται, is worth, transitive. The *siglus* was worth in our money about 22½ cts. — Ἀττικὸς : in agreement with δόσιος, though modifying also ἡμισβόλιον. — ἔχαρε, held, lit. had room (*χάραν*) for. The *chaenix* was about a quart, and this amount of meal or flour cost about 45 cents in the desert, or more than fifty times as much as it cost at Athens about this time. (See Boeckh's *Public Econ. of the Athen.*, Bk. I. § 15.) — κρέα . . . διεγίγνοντο, the soldiers subsisted therefore by eating (or simply on) flesh.

7. ἦν . . . οὖς, some of these marches, ἦν οὖς being a past form of the common ξετίν οἴ (G. 152, N. 2). In such irregular phrases the verb keeps a fixed form, without regard to the unexpressed subject. — οὖς : cogn. acc. (G. 159) to ξιλανεν. — μακρούς : pred. adj. (G. 138, Rem.). — διότε βούλοντο : cf. ἐπει διόκοι in § 2, and note. — καὶ δή : adding a special fact, and once in particular. — ταῖς ἀμάξαις διυτορέυτον, hard (G. 131, 4 b) for the wagons (G. 184, 3) to get through. — στρατού : part. gen. with a verb (G. 170, 1). — συν-εκ-βιβάζεν, to aid in getting out. So two lines below συνεπιστρέψαν, to aid (σύν) in hurrying on.

8. ἂστερ δργῆ, just as if (sc. κελεύων as protasis, G. 277, n. 3) in anger (manner, G. 188, 1). — θεάσασθαι: prop. to look upon (with interest or wonder), while θέειν is to see in general. — πορφυροῦ: from πορφύρα, the purple fish, murex (cf. G. 129, 14). — ἤντο, sent themselves, rushed. — ἂστερ . . . νίκης, just as one would run (i. e. in a foot-race at the public games) to get the victory. περὶ νίκης implies the prot. (G. 226, 1), if he should be running for (περὶ, about, concerning, expressing the aim) victory. — καὶ . . . γηλόφου, even (modifying the entire phrase that follows) down a very (μάλα) steep hill. — ξύνοτε . . . ἀναξυρδας, having on both the costly tunics and colored trousers which they are in the habit of wearing: τοίτοι marks the dress as one generally known. — ένιοι: see note on ἦν οὖς in § 7, and G. 152, n. 2. — εἰσ-πήδησαν εἰς: cf. ἐκ-βαλεῖν ἐκ, i. 2. 1, and note. — θάττον ἢ . . . φέτο, more quickly than (omit ὡς, as, in Eng.) one would have thought (if possible, if he had not seen it). For ἢ φέτο (see σίμα) see G. 226, 2 b. — μετώπους ἔκειμισαν, i. e. lifted and carried out.

9. τὸ σύμπταν, upon the whole, in general (G. 160, 2). — δηλός . . . στέ-δων, Cyrus himself (ὡς) showed that he was making haste (G. 280, n. 1 and n. 4). — διδύν: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). — ἀναγκαλοῦ: from ἀνάγκη (G. 129, 12). — δοσφ . . . τοσούτῳ, quanto . . . tanto, the . . . the (G. 188, 2). — δοσφ . . . μαχεσθαι: the thought of Cyrus was, in the dir. form, δοσφ ἀν θάττον Θέω, τοσούτῳ . . . μαχοῦμαι (G. 247). — ἀπαρασκευοτέρῳ: pred. adj. — σχολαίτερον: comparative adv. (G. 75) formed as if from σχολῆ rather than σχολαῖος. See the lexicon. — συναγέργεθαι: in the dir. form, δοσφ ἀν σχολαίτερον Θέω, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγέργεται βασιλεὺς στράτευμα, the greater (will be the) army (that) is now collecting for the King, where συναγέργεται expresses an action in progress, but implies the future size of the army which is now collecting, and would, therefore, be a natural apod. to δοσφ ἀν Θέῳ (G. 232, 3; cf. 223). — καὶ συνιδεῖν . . . οὐ-στα, but, further (καὶ), the attentive observer could see at a glance (συν-ιδεῖν) that the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, etc. συνιδεῖν is first introduced as subj. of ἦν, it was possible to see, and the natural constr. would have been τὴν ἀρχὴν ισχυρὰν οὖσαν. But after τὸν νοῦν the writer's point of view changes, and the rest of the sentence is constructed (by *anacoluthon*) as if for συνιδεῖν ἦν the nearly equivalent δηλητὴν ἦν had been used (G. 280, n. 1). — προσέχαν τὸν νοῦν, animatum adverte or animadverte. — πλήθε, both extent and number, takes the two gen. by zeugma (ζεῦγμα, joining). — διεπόνθεται: perf. — διὰ ταχέον, with speed, lit. through quick (measures). — εἰ . . . ἐποιεῖτο, i. e. in case of a vigorous attack.

Page 19.—10. πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, across the river (G. 182, 2), i. e. on its southern bank. — κατά, over against, opposite. — ἐρήμους σταθμούς: see § 1 and § 5, above. — δύορα δὲ Χαρράνδη: see note on § 4, above. — δι-φθέρας: Eng. der.? — σκεπάσματα, as coverings (G. 187, n. 4). — διφθέρας, χόρτου: double obj. (G. 172, 2). — συνέσπων: see συ-σπάω (G. 16, 5, n. 3). — ὡς μὴ διπτερεθαι: result (G. 266, n. 1). — ἕκ, ἀπό: the one out of (the other off of) (G. 191, I. 2 and 3). — τοῦτο . . . πλεότον, for this (thing) was very abundant in the country, τοῦτο neuter, though referring to μελίνη.

11. ἀμφιλεξάντων τι, *having had some dispute*. — ἀδικεῖν . . . Μένωνος, that Menon's soldier (probably one of two who began the quarrel) was in the wrong (G. 260, 2). Note the perf. force of ἀδικεῖν, to be ἀδικος, to have done wrong (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 4). — ἐνέβαλεν: probably on the spot, with his own staff, after the Spartan fashion. Cf. ii. 3. 11. — ἔχαλεπαινον . . . Κλεάρχῳ, *took it hard* (*χαλεπός*), and were exceedingly angry at Clearchus (G. 184, 2).

12. ἡμέρῃ: dat. of time (G. 189). — διάβασιν: a crossing, first the act (see G. 129, 3) and then, as here, the place. — τὴν ἄγοράν, the marketing (see § 10). — σὸν . . . αὐτόν, with few (G. 138, Rem.) about him, lit. with those about him (being) few. — προσ-ήλαυνε, δι-ελαύνοντα (G. 280): note the force of the prepositions in comp. — ἤστι τῇ ἀξίῃ, *hurls his axe at him*, lit. sends (at him, sc. αὐτοῦ, G. 171, 1) *with his axe* (G. 188, 1). — αὐτοῦ (G. 171, 1). — λέπῃ: sc. ἤστι.

13. καταφεύγει: diff. in meaning from ἀπο-φεύγω, i. 4. 8? — αὐτοῦ, there, i. e. where they were. — τὰς δοπῆς . . . θέντας: the left knee was slightly advanced, the shield set firmly in rest upon it, and the spear held in readiness for defence. Clearchus saw that he might be repulsed and obliged to fall back upon his heavy-armed troops. — τοὺς ἵππας: not mentioned in i. 2. 9. — οἱ ήσαν αὐτῷ = οὓς εἶχεν. — οἱ πλειστοι: sc. ήσαν. — ἐκπελαθθεῖαι, were thoroughly frightened (G. 202, 2, N. 2; 266, 1). — οἱ δέ, but others, as if τοὺς μέν stood with τρέχειν. — ξυστασαν, stood (still). See G. 124, 1. — τῷ πράγματι: cause (G. 188, 1).

14. ἤτυχε . . . προσιέν, happened to be coming on later (G. 279, 4). — αὐτῷ (G. 186). — ἐπομένη: in the same construction as προσιέν. ἤτυχε . . . διπλωτῶν is parenthetic, and οὖν resumes the narration. — εἰς τὸ μέσον, between. — ἅγων: sc. τὴν τάξιν.

Page 20. — Ήστι τὰ ὅπλα, halted under arms. — τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα literally means to ground arms, i. e. to stand with the spear and shield resting on the ground. But it sometimes means to take up any military position or simply to appear under arms (properly in military line), where the original meaning disappears. In § 17, below, κατὰ χάραν θέντο τὰ ὅπλα means they moved back to their former places, i. e. to their quarters, where they had been before the quarrel. It is probable that τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα never means to stack or pile arms. — αὐτοῦ . . . καταλευθῆναι, when he (i. e. Clearchus) had barely escaped, lit. had wanted little (G. 172, 1) of, being stoned to death. — λέγοις: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — αὐτοῦ refers to Clearchus; but the preceding use of αὐτοῦ is strange, and Krüger proposes to omit it. Others have αὐτοῦ here. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, out from between (them).

15. ἐν τούτῳ, during this time (sc. τῷ χρόνῳ), meanwhile. — καὶ Κύρος, Cyrus also. — τῶν πιστῶν: part. gen. (G. 168). The trusty counsellors or attendants of a Persian prince were called οἱ πιστοί. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the twelve elders who form the chorus say of themselves (vs. 1) τάξει . . . Πιστά καλεῖται (for καλούμεθα Πιστοί).

16. Πρόξενε: Proxenus now seemed more prominent than Menon. — κατακεκόψθαι, shall be instantly cut to pieces (G. 200, N. 9). — κακός . . .

διχόντων = δῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα κακῶς ξυγγένεια (G. 226, 1). — τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖς διχόντων, i. e. οἱ οἱ παρὰ βασιλεῖς διχόντες.

17. ἐν διαντῷ ἐγένετο, came to himself, recovered his senses, Lat. ad se rediit. — πανούμενος : sc. τῆς μάχης. — κατὰ χάραν θέντο τὰ διπλα: see note on § 14, above.

CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: As the army advances, traces of the King's cavalry are observed. Orontas, a Persian nobleman, turns traitor to Cyrus and offers to go forward with a thousand horse and cut off the cavalry that is laying the country waste by fire, and to this Cyrus consents (1, 2). Orontas then writes to the King, saying that he shall desert to him with his command; but his messenger betrays him and carries the letter to Cyrus, who arrests the traitor and summons seven Persian noblemen and Clearchus to his tent to try him (3, 4). Clearchus afterwards relates how the trial was conducted (5). Cyrus, he says, stated how Orontas had on two previous occasions proved false to him, but had been again received into favor, and then asked the prisoner if he had since received any injury from him. Orontas acknowledged that Cyrus had never been unjust to him, and that he had no reason to expect further mercy (6–8). Cyrus then referred the case to those present, and Clearchus advised that the culprit should be put to death, in which opinion the others concurred. Orontas is led away to the tent of Artapates, and is never seen again (9–11).

1. **Ἐντρέθεν:** from opposite Charmande. See map. — **προιόντων** (sc. αὐτῶν), as they advanced, but two lines below, **προιόντες**, keeping ahead (of the army). — **ἔφαντο**, there appeared continuously (G. 135, 2, and n. 1). — **ώς . . . ἵππων**, of about 2000 horse (G. 169, 1). — **οὗτοι**: to be referred to the **ἵππους** implied in **ἵππων**. — **εἰ τι δλλοί**, i. e. whatever else (cf. i. 5. 1). — **γένει**: dat. of respect (G. 188, 1, n. 1). But for **βασιλεῖ**, see G. 184, 2. — **τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος**, reckoned, in matters pertaining to war (G. 160, 1). — **Περσῶν**: part. gen. (G. 168). — **καὶ πρόσθεν**, previously also. — **πολεμήσας**, καταλλαγεὶς δέ (G. 277, 6).

2. **εἰ αὐτῷ δοῃ**, κ. τ. λ.: Orontas said, εἰ δοι θοῆς, η κατακάνομι (see κατα-καίνω) δν η θοῦμι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 245). — **διτι**: in unusual pos.; we should expect rather **διτι εἰ αὐτῷ**, κ. τ. λ. — **διτι**: to be taken also with each of the following opta. (G. 212, 4). — **τοῦ κάκου ἐπόντες**, from attacking (**κακόντες** modifying the subj. of **κάκου**) and burning (G. 263, 1). — **ποιήσειν . . . δύνασθαι**, would cause that they should never be able, etc. **ἄστε** would generally be omitted in this construction. — **ταῦτα**: subj. of **θεῶν**.

3. **ἥξοι, δύνηται**: change of mood in part (G. 247, n. 1). — **ἄς δν δύνηται πλείστους** (G. 232, 3) might have been simply **ώς πλείστους**. See note on i. 1. 6. — **ὑποδέχεσθαι**: for the force of **ὑπό** in comp., cf. **ὑπολαβέν**, i. 1. 7. — **ἐν-ην εἰ**: cf. i. 2. 1, and i. 5. 8.

Page 211. — **τῆς πρόσθεν**: cf. i. 3. 19, and i. 4. 8. — **δέ δέ, but he** (G. 143, 1, n. 2).

4. **ἑπτά**, seven of them, added to restrict **τοὺς ἀρίστους**. — **θέσθαι τὰ διπλα**, to stand under arms. Cf. **θέντο τὰ διπλα** in i. 5. 14, and note. —

τρισχλίους: the great number of men detailed (one quarter of the entire Greek force) would seem to show apprehension on the part of Cyrus. Orontas was a man of influence, and doubtless had many friends among the barbarians. It should be noticed, however, that some of the seven Persians summoned to judge Orontas were his relatives (cf. *οἱ συγγενεῖς* in § 10).

5. **καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς**, *not only to him* (i. e. Cyrus) *but also to the rest* (i. e. of the Persians); that is, it was generally known that Clearchus was the most prominent man among the Greeks. — **τὸν Ἑλλήνων**: part. gen. with **μάλιστα** (G. 168), the thought being strengthened by **πρό** in **προτιμηθῆναι**, *was honored before (the rest)*. — **τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ἐγένετο**: for **ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο**, *how the trial was conducted*. Cf. note on **τῶν βαρβάρων** in i. 5. — **κρίσις** (see G. 129, 3). — **οὐ γάρ ἀπόρρητον** **ἡν**, i. e. **ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο**. — **τοῦ λόγου**, *the conference* (G. 171, 1).

6. **σὺν ὑμῖν βούλευμένος**, *taking counsel with you*. — **δ τι . . . ἀνθρώπων**, *whatever is just, etc.*, rel. clause, summed up emphat. in **τούτῳ**. — **πρός**, *in the sight of* (G. 191, VI, 6, 1, a). — **πράξις**: subj., not fut. (G. 216, 2). — **τουτού**: with an emphatic gesture (G. 83, N. 2). — **ἔμος**: with the art. (G. 147). — **εἶναι**: purpose (G. 265). — **ἔμοι**: with **ὑπήκοον** (G. 185). — **ὡς ἔφη αὐτός**, *as he himself said* (G. 145, 1). In such cases **αὐτός** is always adj. (= *ipse*), never substantive; although in English we can often render it (as here) by an emphatic *he*. Cyrus discredits the statement. Cyrus, probably, in his capacity of military commander (**κάρανος**) of Western Asia Minor had put Orontas in charge of Sardis. When, therefore, Artaxerxes became King and Orontas renounced the authority of Cyrus, it was an easy matter for him to take forcible and absolute possession of the city. — **καὶ ἤγα ἐτοίητα, and I brought it about**, dependent on **ἦται**, above. The principal clause begins at **μερὶς ταῦτα** in § 7. — **αὐτόν**: not the obj. of **προστολεμόν**, which takes the dat. Cyrus began to say, **ἔγε αὐτὸν (him, emphat.) προστολεμόν** (*manner*) **ἐποίησα τοῦ πρὸς ἔμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι** (**αὐτόν** being subj. of **παύσασθαι**), but changed the constr. to an *anacoluthon* by inserting **ῶστε δόξαι τούτῳ** (*on which* see note on § 2). — **δεξιῶν . . . θῶσα**: among the Persians a pledge of especial solemnity.

7. **μερὶς ταῦτα**, *since that*, i. e. the pledge given and received. Notice the abrupt change of address from the council to Orontas. — **ἴστητι . . . ἥδικησα, is** (G. 28, N. 1, end) *there any wrong which I have done you?* — **οὐδὲ** (G. 29, N. 1): sc. **ἴστητι** (or **ἴητι**); or we may consider **οὐδὲ** as a direct quotation, “*No*” (G. 241, 2, N.), like **οὐδὲ . . . δόξαμι**, below, in § 8. — **ἥρατα**, *went on asking*, but the aor. **ἥράτησεν** in § 8 with reference to the single question, *asked*. — **Οὐκοῦν**: expecting an affirm. answer (G. 282, 2). The diff. between this word and **οὐδέν**? See the lexicon. — **οὐδέν ἀδικούμενος** (G. 277, 5): see note on **τι ἀδικηθεῖς** in § 8. For **ἀδικούμενος** see the note on **ἀδικεῖ**, i. 5. 11. — **κακῶς ἐποίεις** (G. 165, N. 1). — **δ τι ἔδύνα**, *in what* (G. 160, 1) *you were able*. — **ἔφη, said “Yes.”** — **ἔγνως, came to know, had ascertained, saw**. — **μεταμδεῖς τοι**: in the dir. form, **μεταμδεῖς μοι** (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — **δρο-λογίω**: der.?

8. **ἀδικηθεῖς** (G. 277, 2), though pass., has **τι** as cogn. accus. (G. 159;

197, 1, N. 2). So, below, οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς, and οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος in § 7. — ἐπιβουλεύειν (G. 280, N. 1): cf. δῆλος ἦν ἀνέμενος in i. 2. 11.

Page 22. — οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς: either a direct quotation, or an indirect quotation with ἐπιβουλεύειν . . . γέγονε understood. — περὶ ἡμέας: cf. περὶ τὴν ἡμᾶς, περὶ ἑκάνους in i. 4. 8. — γεγενήσθαι (G. 246). — Ἡ γάρ, (I confess) for *in truth*, etc. — οὐν γένοιτο (G. 226, 2 b). — ἀδελφός (G. 186). — ἐν (G. 241, 2, N.).

9. πρὸς ταῦτα, *in view of this, thereupon.* — πρώτος, *the first:* what would πρώτον mean? — ἀπόφηναι: voice! Distinguish from ἀποφήναι and ἀποφίναι. — οὐ τοι δοκεῖ: indir. quest. depending on the idea of *declare* in ἀπόφηναι γνώμην. — τοῦτον: expressed three times, contemptuously. — ἔκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, *to put out of the way.* — ὡς δέη, ἥ: final (G. 216). — ἡμῖν, i. e. to you and me, said arrogantly. Why dat.? — τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, *as far as this fellow is concerned* (G. 268, N.). — τοῖς . . . τούτοις, *these (with a gesture) who are your friends of their own free will, lit. these your volunteer friends (θελοντάς, noun, not θελοντας).* — εἰ ποιέι: cf. κακοῖς ἐποιεῖς in § 7.

10. Ἐφη, i. e. Clearchus, when the trial was over. — ἔλαβον . . . Ὀρόνταν, *took Orontas by the girdle* (G. 171, 1, N.). — ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, *as a sign that he was capitally condemned, but, below, ἐπὶ θάνατον, with a verb of motion, to execution.* — καὶ, even. — οἷς προσετάχθη, *to whom it was appointed, sc. θάγαν.* — προσεκίνουν, προσεκύνησαν: why a change of tense? προσεκύνει in application to Orientals means to prostrate one's self. — καίτη εἰδότες, *although they knew* (G. 277, N. 1 b). — διγοροῦ: why opt.?

11. σκηνητούχων: der.? Der. of σκηνητροῦ? — οὔτε οὐδές: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). So οὐδὲ οὐδές, following. — διπος (how) ἀνθάνεν: perhaps he was buried alive; see Her. vii. 114, where the historian states that this was a Persian custom. — εἰδός, *from his own knowledge.* — ἄλλοι ἄλλοι, *some in one way, others in another.*

CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds through Babylonia, and at the end of the third day's march reviews his troops (1). He receives information respecting the King's army, and assembles his Greek officers for consultation (2). He exhorts them to display their zeal in his service (3), describes the manner of a Persian onset, and promises to reward them magnificently in case of victory (4). Gau-lites says there are doubts as to the sincerity of Cyrus and his ability to fulfil his promises (5), whereupon the latter reviews the extent of country he hopes to conquer and promises a crown to each Greek (6, 7). The Greeks are much encouraged by these assurances (8). Cyrus expresses a decided opinion that his brother will not refuse to engage with him (9). The Greeks and barbarians are numbered (10), and some account is given of the King's forces (11–13). Cyrus advances a day's march further, and at midday comes to a deep trench dug by the King, beyond which he succeeds in making his way (14–16). The King does not come to an engagement, and traces of his retreat are observed (17). Cyrus rewards the soothsayer Silanus (18), and, concluding that the King has given up the intention of fighting, proceeds with less caution (19, 20).

1. Ἐγρέθεν: probably from near Pylae (i. 5. 5). See i. 6. 1, and note.—μέσας νύκτας, *midnight*, pl. with reference to the various watches (*φυλακαί*) into which the night was divided. — θόκε, *he thought*. See lexicon, *θοκέω*. — εἰς . . . ἦν, *at daybreak* (G. 42, 2, N. 1); εἰς with reference to the time when the dawn shall have been reached (G. 191, III. 1, b). — μαχούμενον: future (G. 277, 3). — κέρας: form and case? See G. 56, 2; 171, 3. — τοῦ εἰωνύμου, i. e. of the Greeks, who were next the river. Cyrus drew up (*θέτεῖ*, *disposuit*) his barbarian force (*τοὺς ἑαντού*) on the left of the entire Greek force.

2. ήμέρα: case (G. 186). — αὐτό-μολοι: αὐτός and μολ-, *go*; cf. *ημολον*, 2 aorist of *βλέσκω*. See also G. 131, 1.

Page 23. — πῶς ἀν . . . ποστόν, *how* (G. 282, 1) *he should make the fight*, i. e. if there should be one (G. 226, 2 b). — παρήγε . . . τοιάδε, *exhorted and encouraged them as follows* (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἀνθράπων: with *ἀπορῶν* (G. 172, 1), *not because in want of barbarians*. He adds *ἀνθράπων* contemptuously to *βαρβάρων*, but calls the Greeks *ἄνθρης*. See note on § 4. — ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους, *braver and mightier* (der. from *κράτος*). — διὰ τούτο: takes up *νομίζων*, *because I thought, . . . on this account*. — προσ-θλαβον: force of the prep. ? — δῆμος ἔτεσθε: sc. σκοτεῖτε (G. 217, N. 4, ex.). — ἡς . . . ἡς, *which* (G. 153) *you possess* (see *κτάομαι*) *and on account of which* (G. 173, 1), etc. — ἵστε: see *οἴδα*. — ἀλοιμην ἀν: prot. not expressed (G. 226, 2 b). — ἀνθ' ἀν . . . πάντων, *in preference to all that* (G. 154, N.) *I have*. The Persian government was an absolute despotism, and regarded all in dependence upon the King as his slaves. In i. 9. 29, Cyrus is called the *βοῦλος* of Artaxerxes. — πολλαπλαστῶν: a multiplicative in *πλάστος*, derived from *πολύς*. Cf. δι-πλάστος, *twice* (δις) *as many*, etc.

4. δῆμος . . . εἰδῆτε (see *οἴδα*): not object clause, as above (*δῆμος ἔτεσθε*), but final (G. 216, 1). — εἰς οἷον . . . ἀγένα, *into what sort of a struggle you are going*; indir. quest. (G. 282, 1). Cf. below, *οἷον γνάστεσθε ἀνθράπων*. — τὸ πλῆθος: sc. ἐστι. — ἐπίστιν (G. 200, N. 3 b). — ταῦτα, i. e. their numbers and outcry. — τύλλα . . . ἀνθράπους, *as to all else, I feel (lit. seem to myself to be) even ashamed (when I think) what sort of men* (*ἀνθράπους* with emphasized contempt at the end of the sentence) *you will find those in our country are* (G. 280). — ήμιν is the ethical dat. (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ὑμᾶν δὲ . . . γνομένων, *but since you are* (G. 277, 2) *men (emphatic), and if you shall prove yourselves* (= ἔὰν γάνησθε, G. 277, 4) *of good courage*. With *ἀνθρώπων* and *ἀνθράπους* here cf. what Herod. (vii. 210) says of the Medes at Thermopylae, δτι πολλοί μὲν ἀνθρώποι εἰν, δλγοι δὲ ἄνθρης. — ὑμᾶν τὸν βουλόμενον, *whoever of you* (G. 168) *shall wish* (G. 276, 2). — τοῖς οἴκοι, *his friends at home* (masc.); but, just following, τῶν οἴκοι (neut.), *things at home*. *τοῖς οἴκοι* is a dative of the agent with the verbal *γηλατότες*; this is the regular construction with the verbal *-τέος* (G. 188, 3 and 4).

5. ποτέδε δὲ Κύρος, *in the confidence of Cyrus*. It was probably at the direction of Cyrus that Gaulites spoke. — καὶ μὴν: lit. *and in truth*; free Eng., *but yet*. — διὰ . . . προσώπους, *on account of your being* (G. 262, 1)

at such (a critical point) of the danger that is approaching. κινδύνου limits τοιούτῳ (G. 168), but προσιόντος is still causal (G. 277, 2), the thought being, you promise, etc., because the danger is approaching. — ἀν εὖ γένηται τι: a purposely vague ref. to his present undertaking. — μεμνήσεσθαι (fut. perf.), serving as simple future to μέμνημαι (G. 200, n. 6). — ξεινοί δέ: sc. φασι. — οὐδέ εἰ . . . δύνασθαι ἀν (G. 211), not even if, etc., would you be able (G. 246; 224). — μεμνήσθαι: formed without connecting-vowel (cf. G. 118, 1. n.), μεμνη-μην, μεμνήμην, μεμνη-ιο, μεμνήσθαι, etc. The common forms μεμνήμην, μεμνήσθαι, etc.

6. ξεινοί (G. 28, n. 1, end) πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, is (extends) towards the south. ήμεν is a dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). Derivation of μεσημβρία? — μέχρι οὗ, to the point at which (down to where), neut. relative with prep. (G. 191, I. 5): in full μέχρι τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἐν φ. — τὰ . . . πάντα, but all between these (limits): cf. τὸ μέσον τῶν τεκχῶν in i. 4. 4.

7. τούτων: with ἔγκρατεῖς (G. 180, 1). — μὴ οὐκ ἔχω δ τι δῶ (indirect question, G. 244), that I shall not (G. 215, n. 1) know (lit. shall not have) what to give; the direct form for δ τι δῶ would be τι δῶ; what shall I give? (G. 256). So οὐκ ἔχω δ τι εἴπω (or τι εἴπω), non habeo quod (or quid) dicam. Here οὐκ ἔχω is nearly equivalent to ἀπορῶ, to be at a loss, and the indirect question in δ τι δῶ, etc. is plain. But the analogy of the familiar expression οὐκ ἔχω δ τι δῶ, I have nothing to give (in which the interrogative and relative constructions are sometimes hard to distinguish), gave rise occasionally to the corresponding expression ἔχω δ τι δῶ, I have something to give, in which the relative character greatly preponderates; and here we have (below) ἔχω ικανοὺς οἷς δῶ, I have enough to give to, where the construction is purely relative. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 65, 1, n. 3(a). — ἀν εὖ γένηται (sc. τὰ πράγματα). — στέφανον: not, of course, as a badge of sovereignty, but as a mark of distinguished military service, like the medals and crosses of to-day. A crown was often bestowed in this way as a reward of merit among the Greeks.

Page 24. — 8. ήσαν, i. e. the generals and captains. Cf. § 2. — σφίσται: indirect reflexive (G. 144, 2). — ἐμπιπλάς τὴν γνώμην, satisfying the mind.

9. παρεκελέσοντο . . . τάπτεσθαι: had Cyrus followed this advice, the whole course of Persian history might have been changed. — μάχεσθαι, i. e. in person. — έκαντον: with θπισθεν (G. 182, 2). — γάρ: with ref. to an unexpressed statement: (all this advice is unnecessary) or (there is no real danger) for do you think, Cyrus, etc. We should say, *What! do you think*, etc. — Νή Δια (G. 163), Yes, by Zeus (*he will fight*), sc. μάχεσθαι. — ἔμοις ἀδελφός, a brother of mine: δ ἔμοις ἀδελφός would be my brother. — ταῦτα: with a gesture.

10. ἐν τῇ ἔξοπλισίᾳ, under arms, in procinctu. — ἔγένετο, was found to be. — ἀσπίς . . . τετρακούρτα, 10,400 shield, just as we say “a thousand horse.” — The sum total here given cannot be made to tally with the numbers previously given separately; and it is unsatisfactory to speculate on the causes of the discrepancy.

11. ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες: probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's private physician (mentioned in i. 8. 26), gave the number as 400,000. — δῆλοι, besides. Cf. i. 5. 5. — αὖ, moreover.

12. τοῦ: with στρατεύματος. — ἀρχοντες . . . ἡγεμόνες: notice καὶ before both the last two titles, while the proper names below have no conjunction. These are both common forms in Greek, while in English we generally use *and* only before the last noun in such a series. — μάχης: after θυτέρησε (der. from θύτερος) implying comparison (G. 175, 2). — ἡμέρας (G. 188, 2).

13. οἱ . . . βασιλέως, those who had deserted from the ranks of (lit. *out of*) the enemy from (*the side of*) the great King, etc. τῶν πολεμίων, at the end of the section, depends on οἱ (G. 168). The number of prepositional phrases in this short section is worthy of note. — ταῦτα: distinguish carefully from ταῦτα above.

14. συντελεγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι: the noun is a dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), and the part. expresses the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). This force of the part. will be easily seen, if the idea of accompaniment is dropped and the gen. abs. is substituted, συντελεγμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος.

Page 25. — μέσον (G. 142, 4, n. 4). — τάφρος: the word in itself signifies an artificial ditch (cf. θάπτω, τάφος), but this idea is emphasized by δρυγή. — δρυγά: in apposition to τάφρος, where we should expect rather δρυγιῶν (G. 167, 5). Cf. ποδῶν at the end of § 15. The δρυγά, the length of the outstretched arms (δρέγω, to stretch out), measured about a fathom (6 feet) and was equal to four πήχεα.

15. παρετέραρο (G. 109, 6 and 4). — ἐπί, upon, over, to the length of. — τοῦ τείχους: see note on ii. 4. 12. The ditch was dug northward, obliquely (not at right angles, like the wall) to the Euphrates, which here runs about S. E. — διάρυχες: sc. εἰσ. Derivation of δι-ἀρυξ? — δέουσα, which flow (G. 276, 1). — δέουσα, πλεῖ (G. 98, N. 1). — σιτ-αγαγά: derivation? See also G. 131, 1. — διαλείπουσι, are distant (from one another), lit. leave an interval. — ποταμοί, τάφρου (G. 182, 2). — Why the ditch had not been completed to the river is not stated. The most reasonable of the many conjectures that have been made with reference to this is, that Cyrus had surprised the King by his rapid marching, and that the latter had in consequence abandoned the work in alarm when almost completed.

16. προσελάνοντα (G. 280). — παρῆλθε καὶ ἔγενοντο: the point of view shifts; Cyrus being prominent as subject of παρῆλθε, and the whole army as subject of ἔγενοντο.

17. μέν: see τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ in § 20. — ησαν: plural, perhaps, because two kinds of tracks are mentioned.

18. Ἀρειακώτηρ: force of suffix? See G. 129, 10. — μάντιν: der.? — Δαρεικός: the στατήρ Δαρεικός, commonly called Δαρεικός, was a Persian gold coin, containing about 125.5 grains of gold. It would, therefore, now be worth about \$5.40 in our gold (\$1.00 having 23.22 grains). Here Cyrus pays a bet of 10 talents (60,000 drachmas) with 3000 Darics, which shows that the Daric was worth 20 drachmas, or \$3.60 in silver. The difference in these two results comes from the change in the proportional values of

gold and silver. In antiquity the proportion was about 10 : 1; now it is about 16 : 1. As the Daric was a gold coin, of course the former value (about \$5.40) is the correct one. The Daric is commonly supposed to have derived its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes. In the same way we have *Napoleon*, *Louis d'or*, etc., as names of coins. — *ἀντὶ ἔκεινης*, i. e. before that (day). — *ὅτι τῇ . . . εἰσεν*: causal (G. 250). — *ἡμέρων* (G. 179, 1). Cf. *ἡμέρῃ*, above (G. 189), and *σταθμόν*, § 14 (G. 161). — *Οὐκ . . . μαχέται*, he will not fight then at all (lit. hereafter); see *οὐκ ἔτι* in lexicon. — *οὐ*: *οὐ* rather than *μή μαχέται* (G. 219, 3, n.), because he is consciously repeating the statement of Silanus (G. 223, n. 1). — *ἀληθεύτες*, shall prove to be speaking the truth; the future apodosis is in δάστιν or δοῦναι understood with *ἐπιστοχοῦμα*. — *παρῆλθον*: see note on i. 1. 3.

19. *ἐκάλυψε*: attempted action. — *ἴδοξε*: personal. — *ἀπεγνωκάνει τοῦ μάχεσθαι*, to have abandoned the idea of fighting (G. 262, 2; 174). — *τῷ θυτεράᾳ*: sc. *ἡμέρᾳ*. — *ἄστε έπερεύτο* (G. 237). — *ἡμελημένως*: adverb formed from the perfect passive participle of *ἀμελέω*.

20. *καθήμενος, ἦκων*: manner (G. 277, 2). — *αὐτῷ*: a dative of disadvantage, but *στρατιώταις*, just below, one of advantage (G. 184, 3).

CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: Near the station where he intends to halt for breakfast, Cyrus is met by Pategyas riding at full speed, who calls out that the King and his army are approaching (1). Great confusion ensues (2), and Cyrus gives orders for all to arm and fall into line (3). They begin to form as quickly as possible (4, 5), and Cyrus stations himself at their centre (6, 7). The enemy approach slowly and in silence, prepared for battle (8–11). Cyrus calls to Clearchus to attack the centre where the King is, but he is unwilling to do so (12, 13). The King's army continues to advance, the Greek force being not yet completely in line. Cyrus surveys both armies, and tells Xenophon, who rides up to him, to announce that the sacrifices are favorable (14, 15). The watchword is passed along the ranks of the Greeks, and then they advance chanting the paean (16, 17). They begin to move more and more rapidly, raising a shout to the God of War, at which the barbarians on the right of the King's army give way and take flight (18–20). Cyrus is pleased at the sight, but does not join in the pursuit. He directs his attention towards the King, who is beyond his extreme left, and then, in fear that he may be encircled, moves directly upon him, putting to rout the troops in front (21–24). He attacks the King in person and wounds him, but is himself struck with a javelin and killed. Artapates dies upon his body (25–29).

1. *ἥν* (G. 134, n. 1 c). — *ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν*, the time of full market, i. e. from nine or ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Four parts of the day were designated, *πρώ* (ii. 2. 1), *ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, μέσον ἡμέρας* (§ 8), and *δελτὴ* (§ 8).

Page 26. — *σταθμός*: here halting-place. Cf. note on *σταθμός*, i. 2. 5. — *ἱμέλλε*, i. e. Cyrus. For *ἱμέλλε καταλέναι*, expressing past intention, see G. 118, 6; *Moods and Tenses*, § 25, 2, n. 2. — *καταλέναι*, to halt (i. e.

for breakfast), lit. *to unyoke, to loose the horses*. Cf. καταλύσομεν Ἰππους, *Odyss.* iv. 28; and καταλύει παρ' ἐμοι, *he lodges at my house*. — προ-φαίνεται . . . κρέας, *comes into view in front, riding at the top of his speed* (lit. *up to his might*). — ιδρούνται τῷ ἵππῳ (*G.* 188, 5), *with his horse in a sweat*: the part. expresses attendant circumstance (*G.* 277, 6). Cf. συντεταγμένη τῷ στρατεύματι in i. 7. 14, and note. — ὡς εἰς μάχην, *apparently for battle*.

2. αὐτίκα: construe with ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι; put first for emphasis. — καὶ πάντες δέ, *and all too*, i. e. Persians as well as Greeks (cf. i. 1. 2, and note). — σφίσιν (*G.* 144, 2). — ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι, i. e. the King (*G.* 260, 2).

3. Note in the first two lines the repeated use of the article as a possessive pronoun (*G.* 141, n. 2). — τὰ παλάτα: each Persian horseman carried two javelins into battle. Cf. i. 5. 15.

4. τὰ δεξιά τοῦ κέρατος, *the right* (sc. *mέρη, parts*) *of the wing*. κέρας here must mean the right wing, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, of the entire force of Cyrus, as opposed to the left wing where most of the barbarians stood (§ 5). This distinction is plain in ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ and ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ (§ 5). But below, τὸ εὐωνυμον κέρας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ means *the left wing* of this same Greek division (or κέρας). — πρός, *in front of, near*. — ἔχόμενος, *next to*, lit. *holding on to*, sc. *Κλεάρχου* (*G.* 199, n. 3; 171, 1). Cf. ἔχόμενοι τούτων in § 9.

5. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ: part. gen. with ἴστησις (*G.* 168). — εἰς: cf. i. 2. 3, and note. — ἴστησαν, *took their position*. The Paphlagonian cavalry and Greek peltasts were stationed here to support the hoplites under Clearchus and follow up the advantage in case these slower troops should put the enemy to rout.

6. Κύρος . . . ὀπλισμένοι (sc. *ἴστησαν*), i. e. *stood armed*. — δσον, (*so much*) *as = about*. Cf. note on εἰς in i. 2. 3. — θάραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ . . . Κύρος, *(the men) themselves on their part* (*μέν*) *with breastplates, cuisses (thigh-pieces), and helmets — all except Cyrus*. The exception refers only to κράνεστο, as appears from the following Κύρος δέ, κ. τ. λ. οἱ δὲ Ἰπποι (in § 7) corresponds to θάραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ. Κύρου: *case* (*G.* 191, I. 5). — ψυλήν . . . κεφαλήν, *with his head unprotected* (*G.* 138, Rem.). Ctesias (in Plutarch, *Artax.* 11) says that Cyrus wore a tiara in place of a helmet.

7. Notice the derivation of προ-μετ-ωπίδια and προ-στερνίδια. — μαχαιρας: difference between the μάχαιρα and ξίφος?

8. Cf. the beginning of this section with that of § 1. — ἡνίκα . . . ἐγίγνετο, *but when it began to be* (lit. *was becoming*) *afternoon*. Cf. note on § 1. The battle was fought between this time and dark. — ἐφάνη, *there was seen*. — κονι-ορτός: der.? — χρόνῳ . . . πολύ, *but some time* (*G.* 188, 2) *later (the dust appeared) just like a sort of blackness in the plain for a great distance* (ἐπὶ πολὺ). — χαλκός τις ἴστραπτε, *here and there (τις) their bronze armor began to flash*.

9. λευκο-θάρακες: probably of linen; cf. *Λινοθάρης*, II. ii. 539.

Page 27. — ἔχόμενοι τούτων: cf. note on ἔχόμενος in § 4. — κατὰ ξήνη, *nation by nation* (*G.* 191, IV. 2, 2 c). — ἰκαστον τὸ θένος: *in appos. to οὐντος, but attracting ἐπορεύετο into an agreement with it: but these were all proceeding (normally ἐπορεύοντο) nation by nation, each nation in the form of a solid square.*

10. δρματα : sc. ήν. — καλούμενα : cf. note on καλουμένη in i. 2. 13. — ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων : inserted into the projecting extremity of the axle and stationary. — εἰς πλάγιον, sideways. — βλέποντα, pointing. — ὡς διακόπτειν : result (G. 266, n. 1). — στρφ (i. e. φτινι, G. 86). — ἐντυγχάνοντειν (G. 248, 2). — ἡ δὲ γνώμη ήν ὡς . . . θλόντα (see θλαύνω), κ. τ. λ., and they were designed to drive, etc.; the partic. are nomin., as if γνώμην εἶχεν had preceded, and ὡς is used (G. 277, n. 2) as if the chariots themselves had the design. The covinini, or scythe-chariots of the ancient Britons, are well known.

11. δέ μέντοι, what however, taken up in τοῦτο, two lines below. — καλέσας . . . "Ελληστ : we might have had (cf. i. 7. 18) καλέσας τοὺς "Ελλήνας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς, but in Greek the obj. is regularly expressed but once. — ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο, in this (G. 160, 1) he was mistaken. — κραυγῇ : manner; so συγῇ, ἡσυχῇ. — συγῇ ὡς ἀνυστόν, with as little noise as possible; in full ὡς ἀνυστὸν ἦν προστίναι συγῇ : see note on ἦ δυνατὸν μάλιστα in i. 3. 15. — ἐν ἵσφ, with even step, sc. βήματι : cf. δμαλῶς in § 14.

12. αὐτός, i. e. attended only by Pigres and the few others mentioned. — ἄγειν : obj. inf. not in indirect disc., following ἔβοι as it would ἔκθειν (G. 260, 1). — τὸ τῶν πολεμίων (G. 142, 2). — διτι εἴη : causal (G. 250, n.). — κάν (καὶ διν) νικῶμεν (G. 223). The apod. πεποίηται, though a perf. in form, refers vividly to the fut. (G. 200, n. 7), our whole work is (will be) done. — ἡμῖν (G. 197, 2¹).

13. ὅρῶν τὸ μέσον στίφος, though he saw the compact body at the centre (στίφος from στέφω, to tread), i. e. the 6000 cavalry mentioned in i. 7. 11. ἀκούων is also concessive (G. 277, 5). — Κύρου : gen. of source (G. 171, 2, n. 1). The clause ξέω δύτα (G. 280) . . . βασιλέα constitutes the obj. acc. — τού εἴωντόμου : with ξέω (G. 182, 2). — τοσούτον . . . ξέω ήν : parenth. — πλήθει, in numbers (G. 188, 1, n. 1). — ἀλλ' δύος, but still, resuming after the parenthesis, with emphatic repetition of ὁ Κλέαρχος. — μῆ κυκλωθεῖτ, that he might be encircled (der. from κύκλος ; cf. Eng. cycle). Why opt.? — διτι αὐτῷ . . . ξχοι : he said ἐμοὶ μέλει (G. 184, 2, n. 1, the clause that follows being the object gen.) όπως καλώς ξχῃ (G. 217, n. 1). — If Clearchus had been less cautious and obeyed orders, the result of the battle might have been very different. Plutarch (*Artax.* 8) says of Clearchus: ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μελειν εἴτιών όπως ξέει κάλλιστα, τὸ πάν διέφευρεν.

14. τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα : the King's army. — δμαλῶς : cf. ἐν ἵσφ in § 11, and note. — συνεπάττετο . . . προστίντων, was forming its line from those still coming up. — οὐ πάντι τρόπῳ, by no means near, at some distance from. — τρόπος αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι means near the army itself, αὐτῷ strengthening the idea of nearness. — ἑκατέρωτε (with ἀποβλέπετο): cf. ἑκατέρωτεν in § 13, and see G. 61. — κατεβάτο, took a survey : ὄράω, to see in general; βλέπω, to turn the eyes, look; θέαομαι, to gaze at.

15. Ξενοφῶν : the first mention of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. — ὃς συναντήσαι : purpose (G. 266, n. 1). — εἰ τι παραγγέλλοι, whether (G. 282, 4) he had any commands (G. 243). — ἐπιστήσας (sc. τὸν ἱππον), pulling up.

Page 28. — ιερά omens from inspecting the inwards of the victims; σφάγια, omens from the acts and movements of the victims.

16. λέγων, while saying (G. 277, 1). — τίς . . . εἴη, what the noise was (G. 243); but two lines below, διὰ τοῦ εἴη, κ. τ. λ. (G. 149, 2^o). — δῆ Κλεάρχος: Clearchus had ridden up in the mean time; some MSS. have Ξενόφων. — σύνθημα, a thing agreed upon (συντίθημι), watchword. — παρέρχεται: what might have been the mood? Cf. παραγγέλλει and εἴη, below. — δεύτερον: the watchword passed first down the line from man to man, and then back again to make sure that it was understood. — καὶ δε, and he, i. e. Cyrus (G. 151, N. 3^o). — τίς παραγγέλλει, i. e. who was giving it out without his approval.

17. Ἐλλὰ . . . ξέτω, well, I accept it (the password), and let it be this. Ἐλλὰ marks the opposition between his present concession and preceding surprise. — καὶ οὐκέτι . . . ἀλλήλων, i. e. the two lines were now less than three or four stades (G. 161) apart. — διευχέτην τῷ φάλαγγε (G. 38, 1; 78, N. 2). — ἐπαιάνιζον, began to sing the paean, as an omen of victory. — προτρέχοντο, began first (πρό), i. e. before the enemy. — ἀντίοι (G. 138, N. 8; 185).

18. ὡς δὲ . . . φάλαγγος, but when, as they (sc. αὐτῶν) proceeded, a part (sc. μέρος with τῷ) of the phalanx (G. 168) surged forward (beyond the rest), lit. billowed out (κύμα, a wave), etc. — δρόμῳ θεν, to go on the run, double quick (dat. of manner). — οἰόντες . . . ἔλελίουσι, just as they raise the war-cry to Enyalius (Ares): ἔλειξα, to shout ἔλειν. — καὶ πάντες δέ: cf. § 2 and note. — φόβον . . . ἵπποις (G. 277, 6), thereby frightening (lit. causing fright among) the horses (G. 184, 3).

19. πρὶν δὲ . . . φίκυντοθαί: lit. before an arrow reached them, i. e. before the Greeks got within bowshot of them (G. 274). — κατὰ κράτος: cf. ἀνά κράτος in § 1. — θεν δρόμῳ: here involving the idea of confusion and disorder (cf. § 18).

20. τὸ δὲ ἄρματα, i. e. of the enemy. — τὰ μέν, τὰ δέ: in partitive apposition to ἄρματα (G. 137, N. 2). — ἤνιόχων (G. 180, 1): derived from ἤνια, a rein, and ἕχω. — ἑτεροπροΐδονει, δισταντο, stood apart (separated), whenever they saw them in front of them (G. 233). — ξέτη δὲ δύτης: we should expect rather ἦν δέ τις δε. Cf. the expressions in G. 152, N. 2, and ἦν οὖς in i. 5. 7, with note. — κατελήθη ἐκπλαγεῖς, was caught (i. e. by not getting out of the way of a chariot) in his consternation. — ἴπποδρόμῳ: derivation? — καὶ . . . Ιφασαν, and yet, in fact (καὶ μέντοι), they said that not even he suffered any harm (οὐδέν, G. 159, N. 2). — οὐδὲ . . . δέ: the negative expression corresponding to καὶ . . . δέ. Cf. i. 1. 2, and note. — οὐδὲ' οὐδέν οὐδέν: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). So just preceding οὐδὲν οὐδέν. — τίς, probably, a single man.

21. δρῶν, when he saw. — νικώντας, διάκοντας: pred. participles in indirect discourse (G. 280). — τὸ καθ' αὐτούς: sc. πλήθος or στράτευμα. — ήδομένος, although he was pleased. — οὐδὲ ὡς (G. 29, N. 1), not even then (under these circumstances). — ἔξηθη, was led on, tempted (ἔάγω). — συνεσπειραμένην: cf. note on ἐκκεκαλυμμένας in i. 2. 16: σπειράσματα, to be coiled up, from σπείρειν (cf. Eng. spiral). — ποιήσει, would do, might have been ποιήσοι (G. 243). — ηὗσε αὐτὸν δτι ξοι, knew him that he had, i. e. knew that

he had. Cf. i. 1. 5, and note. The thought could be expressed also in this way, *ἥδια αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, but not αὐτὸν ἔχειν* (G. 280, and n. 3).

Page 29.—22. *τὸ αἰτρὸν* (G. 142, 2; 167, 1).—*ἡγούμενα, command*, i. e. they always hold this position in commanding their armies.—*οὕτω, thus,* takes up the idea of *μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αἰτρὸν*, and is itself further defined by *ἥν γέ... ἐκατέρωθεν, thus, viz. if part of their force is on either side of them: οὕτω has besides a conditional force on* *αλογάνευσθαι δι.*—*τὸν ασφαλεστάτῳ: sc. τόπῳ.*—*εἶναι* (G. 260, 2) is apod. to the general cond. *ἥν γέ* (G. 225).—*ἡ λοχὺς αὐτὸν* (G. 142, 4, N. 3).—*εἰ κρήγονεν... δι* *αλογάνευσθαι* (G. 246; 247, N. 3): cf. also G. 226, 3; 211.—*ἡμίσεα χρόνῳ:* more commonly *ἐν ἡμίσεα χρόνῳ* (G. 189, N. 2).

23. *Σὴ τότε... δρός, i. e. the King accordingly (θῆ) on this occasion held (G. 277, 5) the centre, but still, etc. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου (sc. μέρους), from the opposite side.—αὐτὸν: with ἐμπροσθεν (G. 182, 2). — ἐπέκαμπτεν... κίνδυ-σιν, wheeled round (lit. against), as if to encircle them. By this movement the King's left, from being at right angles to the river, came to face it.—κύκλωσιν (G. 129, 3).*

24. *μή κατακόψῃ* (G. 216, 2; 201, Rem.).—*ἔλαντει ἀντίος, advances against him* (G. 138, N. 7).—*τοὺς ἑρακισχίλους:* identical with *τοὺς τῷ βασιλέως τεταγμένους*, but expressed to emphasize the contrast between the two forces, 600 on one side, 6,000 on the other.—*αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκπού χερὶ, himself with his own hand.*

25. *τροπή, the turning of an enemy, rout* (G. 129, 1).—*εἰς τὸ διάσκειν, in pursuit* (G. 262, 1).—*πλήν:* here a conj. Cf. its use as a prep. in i. 2. 1.—*σχεδὸν... καλούμενοι, chiefly his so-called* (cf. note on i. 2. 13) *table-companions.*

26. *τὸ ἄμφι ἐκείνον στίφος:* the King's *ὅμοτράπεζοι*, probably, in turn, who, now that the 6,000 had fled, formed a crowd (*στίφος*) about him for his protection.—*ἡγίσχηρο:* double augm. (G. 105, 1, N. 3).—*καὶ λασθεῖ... φησι, and he says that he himself healed* (he said *λέμην*, G. 203, N. 1) *the wound.* The present infinitive can be used for the imperfect only when something in the sentence or in the context makes it plain that this is the case: here (as often) the well-known time of the event makes the meaning plain. (See examples in *Moods and Tenses*, § 15, 3.) We should expect here a relative sentence. The conjecture has been made, *δε καὶ λασθεῖ, κ. τ. λ., who says also, etc.*

27. *αὐτὸν, i. e. Cyrus. — ἕπο τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, under the eye* (implying motion *towards* the eye).—*μαχόμενοι... ἐκατέρου:* the construction begun by these subjects is not finished, except so far as it is partially resumed in *Κύρος δέ;* but it breaks suddenly off in the indirect quest. *ἀπόστοι... ἀπ-θητοκον.*—*ἀπέθητοκον* refers to several being killed at different times, whereas *ἀπέθανε* is used of Cyrus alone.—*Κτητολας λέγει:* we should say, *this I leave for Ctesias to tell. — ἐκεντο, lay dead, jacebant.*

28. *ὁ πιστότατος θεράπων, the attendant most in his confidence.*—*πεντε-κότα:* quoted after *εἴδε* (G. 280).—*περιτεσεν αὐτῷ:* lit. *to have fallen about him* (G. 187), i. e. so as to embrace him. Cf. Q. Curtius, viii. 11. 16: *super amici corpus procubuit.*

29. καὶ . . . Κύρῳ: construe in the Greek order. — ἐπισφάγαι αὐτὸν (Artapates) Κύρῳ (G. 187), *to slay him over Cyrus*, i. e. as a sacrifice. See ἐπισφάγη in lexicon. — ἔαυτὸν ἐπισφάγασθαι: strongly reflexive, *slew himself by his own hand*, ἔαυτόν being added to the verb already in the mid. Note the force of σπασάμενον (G. 199, 3). — εἴνοιαν, πιστότητα: substantives formed with suffixes expressing quality (G. 129, 7).

CHAPTER IX.

Biographical Sketch of Cyrus.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus is agreed to have been the most worthy to reign of all Persians since Cyrus the Great (1). When a boy he excelled all others (2). The sons of Persian nobles are educated at the King's palace, and early learn to govern and obey (3, 4). Here Cyrus was remarkable for his modesty and obedience, as well as his love of horses and for learning warlike exercises (5). When older, he was fond of the chase (6). While satrap, he was careful to keep his promises (7); and cities, individuals, and even enemies had the greatest confidence in him (8). In his warfare with Tissaphernes all the cities, except Miletus, put themselves under his protection; and the inhabitants of Miletus feared him, because he shewed by deeds and words that he would not desert the exiles whom they had banished (9, 10). He was always anxious to outdo those who did him either a kindness or an injury (11). A great number confided to his charge their property, cities, and persons (12). He was unsparing in his punishment of the criminal and unjust (13); but paid honor to warlike talents and bravery (14, 15), and rewarded those who loved justice (16). Foreign generals in his employ found it profitable to serve him well (17), for diligence was never unrewarded (18). Skilful and just managers of his lands were never deprived of their earnings (19). He was successful in attaching friends to himself, and ready to assist them in their own purposes (20, 21). He received and gave many presents, surpassed his friends in kind attentions, and was universally beloved (22–23): in proof of this no one deserted from him to the King (29). His virtues and his quickness in discerning the trustworthy are proved by the fact that, when he died, all his most intimate friends, except Ariæus, fell fighting in his behalf (30, 31).

Page 30.—1. μέν: without correlative. — οὗτος: what would ὁδε mean? — ἀνὴρ ἄν, a man (G. 137) *who was*, etc. — Περσῶν γενομένων (G. 168): the Persians meant are those of the royal line born (*γενομένων*) after the time of (μερά, G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b) Cyrus the Great. — βασιλικώτατος: note the suffix *ικο-* (see G. 129, 18). — παρά: with the gen. of the agent in place of ὅντος (G. 197, 1, N. 1). — τῶν δοκούντων γενέσθαι, *those who are reputed to have become* (*γενέσθαι*, G. 260, 2). — ἐν περρᾳ Κύρου, i. e. *intimate/acquainted with Cyrus*.

2. πρώτον μέν: correl. to ἑταῖρος in § 6, which marks the second period in his life, and to ἑταῖρος in § 7, which marks the third. — ἥτι πατεῖς ἄν, *while* (G. 277, 1) *still a boy*. — ἐπαιδεύετο: derivation and suffix? See G. 130, 4.

3. ἐπι . . . θύραις: as we say, *at court*. — σωφροσύνην, *self-control*, derived from σώ-φρων (*sôs*, *sôos*, and φρήν) with the suff. σύνα- (see G. 129, 7). — καταμάθοι ἀν (G. 226, 2 b). — αἰσχρόν . . . ξέτι (G. 28, N. 1, end): for the construction cf. ἦν ιδεῖν . . . ἀνθράπους in § 13, below, and οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν in i. 5. 2. — οὐδὲν οὔτε . . . οὔτε (G. 283, 9).

4. θάνται καὶ ἀκούονται, *they see some* (sc. τινάς) *honored and hear of them* (G. 280). — εὖθις παῖδες ὄντες (G. 277, N. 1), *in their very boyhood*. — μανθάνονται δρχαν, *learn how to rule* (G. 280, N. 3).

5. αἰδημονέστατος: put first for emphasis, displacing μέν: otherwise the order would be πρῶτον μὲν αἰδημονέστατος. — έδόκα εἶναι, *had the reputation of being*. — τοῖς τε . . . πείθεοθαι, *and of being more obedient to his elders than (were) even those inferior to himself in rank*. — φιλιππότατος (G. 136, N. 3 a) with έδόκει εἶναι, but χρήσθαι with έδόκει alone. — ξέρων: *they* (i. e. men in general) *judged him*, etc. — ἔργων: with the two super. at the end of the sect. (G. 180, 2). — ἀκοντίσεως: force of the suff. οὐς? — Give the derivation at length of αἰδήμων, ήλικιάτης, ὑποδέης, φιλιππός, τοξική, ἀκόντιας, φιλομαθής, and μελετηρός.

6. ήλικις (G. 184, 2). — μέντοι, *moreover*. So below at the end. — ἐπιφερομένην, *that rushed upon him* (G. 276, 1): ἄρκτος is *epicene* (G. 33, 2, N. 2). — οὐκ ἐτρεστεν, *was not afraid of, did not shrink from*. Cf. τρέμω, τρέμω, tremble. — συμπεσών: the idea is that of *grappling*, not of falling to the ground, with the bear. — τὰ μέν: cogn. acc. (G. 159, N. 2), suffered somewhat, received some wounds. Often a different word takes the place of the article in one part of the correlation ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ (G. 143, 1), as here τέλος δέ (G. 160, 2). — πολλοῖς: dat. of the agent with the verbal adj. μακαριστόν (from μεκαρίζω, μάκαρ).

7. κατεπέμφθη: why κατά? — στρατάπης, *as satrap*. See, with ref. to the facts here mentioned, i. 1. 2, and the prefatory note. — στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ: cf. with ref. to pos. καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ in i. 1. 2. — οἷς: dat. of indir. obj. after καθῆκαι (G. 184, 2). — πρῶτον μέν: weakly correlated by δέ in § 11. — ἐπειδεῖν αὐτὸν δτι, κ. τ. λ., *he showed himself, that he made*, etc., emphatic attraction. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, i. 1. 5. — δτι . . . ποιοῦτο, *that he made it of the greatest importance, regarded it most important*; the direct form of the sent. being περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι, έάν τῷ σπείσωμαι (G. 225) καὶ . . . συνθώμαι καὶ . . . ὑπόσχωμαι τι, μηδὲν φεύδομαι (G. 247). — τῷ: what other form was possible? See G. 84. — σπένδομαι of *making a treaty* (by libations); συντίθεμαι of *entering into an agreement*; ὑποχνήμαι of *promising* in the common sense.

8. καὶ γάρ, *and* (*proof is at hand*) *for*. — σπεισαμένου, *temporal*. — μηδὲν ἀν παθεῖν, in direct form οὐδὲν ἀν πάθοιμ. (G. 211; 226, 2 b): for the change of neg. see G. 242, 4.

Page 31. — 9. τοιγαροῦν, *therefore*. — ἔκονται (G. 138, N. 7). — Μιληστῶν: we should expect Μιλητοῦ. — οὗτοι δὲ . . . αὐτόν: a proof, drawn from an enemy, that Cyrus was to be trusted. — προέσθαι, *to abandon* (see προΐημι).

10. καὶ γάρ . . . θεγέν, *for he both* (καὶ . . . καὶ in correlation) *showed repeatedly by what he did, and declared repeatedly*, or, more freely, *showed*

repeatedly both by word and deed. — προστό (G. 127, III., N. 1). — διπάξ is once for all; but ποτέ, once on a time (§ 6), *some time, ever.* — οὐδὲ εἰ... γένοιντο, *not even if they should become still fewer*, i. e. should be cut down in numbers by their misfortunes. — διτὶ... πράξεαν: in direct form οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ προσμην, ἐπει... ἐγενόμην, οὐδὲ εἰ... γένοιντο... πράξεαν (G. 247, N. 2 and N. 3).

11. φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ πειρώμενος, *but it was obvious also that he strove* (G. 280, N. 1). — εἰ ποιήσειν: prot. to πειράμενος. The fact made evident (i. e. the direct discourse) is έάν τις... ποιήσῃ, πειρώμαι (G. 225). For the two accusatives after ποιήσειν, see G. 165. For the parallel construction at the end of the section, see G. 165, N. 1, and cf. § 10. — ξέφερον, *reported.* — ως εἴχοιτο: quoted (G. 243) after εὐχὴν ξέφερον, which involves the idea of *saying*. They said, εἴχεται (i. e. *he sometimes prays*) ξῆν ιστ' ἀν νικᾶ (G. 239, 2; 232, 3); the future apod. to ξεῖται ἀν νικᾶ is ξῆν. For the change-by quot. of the subj. νικᾶ to the opt., see G. 247. — νικών δλεξόμενος, *should outdo in returning like for like.*

12. καὶ γάρ οὖν: as in § 8. — δῆ: with the superlative, just as μέγιστος δῆ means *the very greatest*. The phrase ἐντὸς γε ἀνδρί also (ἀνδρί, of course, is grammatically in app. to αὐτῷ) logically modifies the superl.; the number, i. e., was the very greatest in view, at least (γε), of the fact that it was a single man (ἐντὸς ἀνδρὶ) that was in question. — τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *of the men of our time,* part. gen. with αὐτῷ, but affected also by the superlative πλεῖστοι, as if it had been said *he was trusted most of all the men of our day.* For this meaning of ἐπτ., see G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b. — προέσθαι, *to intrust.* Cf. § 9.

13. οὐ μὲν (= μήν) δῆ οὐδέ, *nor yet now in truth.* — ἀφειδέστατα πάντων, *most unspareingly of all.* — ἦν θέειν, *it was possible to see, you might see.* — ποδῶν, χειρῶν, ὄφθαλμῶν: *why gen.?* — μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι, *if in no respect* (G. 159, N. 2) *a wrong-doer* (G. 277, 4). — δι τι προχωροῖη, *whatever it was to his advantage* (G. 233) *to have* (sc. έχειν). For ήθελεν (which might have been έθελοι), see G. 233, N. 1.

14. μέντοι, *however.* — ώμολόγητο, *he had been (and so was) acknowledged,* pers. const. (cf. § 20). — ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος: principal sentence where we should expect a dependent one, such as δύτος ποτὲ αὐτῷ πολέμου; for πρότον μέν, notwithstanding its position, goes with Δροχοντας ἐποιει and is correlated by ἐπατα. — καὶ αὐτός, *even in person.* — ιδεοντας: cf. έκούσαι in § 9, and note, and ιδεοντάς in i. 6, 9, and note. — ης κατεστρέφετο χώρας (G. 154, N.).

15. ὥστε... εἶναι, *so that (in his dominions) the good appeared* (G. 266, 1) *most prosperous, and the bad were deemed fit to be their slaves:* φαίνεσθαι would regularly either stand within the clause with μέν or else belong to both subjects. — στοιχοῦ: for the mood cf. προχωροῖη in § 13. — αἰσθήσεσθαι: quoted (G. 260, 2).

16. γε μήν, *certainly at least*, adding a case in the general testimony to the high character of Cyrus that could not be controverted; more simply, *moreover.* — εἰς δικαιοσύνην (see G. 129, 7 and 12): with ἐπιδικυνθεῖσθαι,

to distinguish himself for uprightness. — εἰ γένοιτο, ἐποιεῖτο (G. 225). — βουλόμενος: quoted. Cf. φανερὸς ἦν πειράμενος in § 11. — περὶ τοῦτος ἐποιεῖτο: cf. περὶ πλεύστου ποιεῖτο in § 7. — τούτους: pl. because of the distributive force of τοῖς to which it refers. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου, *by injustice* (G. 139, 2).

Page 32. — 17. *δικαλῶς, with fidelity.* — διεχειρίζετο, *were managed, lit. were had in hand.* — καὶ . . . ἔχοντας, *and he secured the services of* (G. 200, N. 5 b) *an army worthy of the name, justo exercitu.* — Πλευσταί: coming as mercenaries across the sea. — ἐτελέγνωσται, *because they judged it, etc.* (G. 250). — πειθαρχεῖν (G. 131, 2 a). — τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος is in the same construction as πειθαρχεῖν, the subject of εἶναι, which might have been τὸ πειθ. (G. 259 and N.). For κατὰ μῆνα, *monthly*, see G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c.

18. εἰ τοῖς γέ τι: one proclitic, three enclitics. The proclitic takes the accent of τοῖς; for the accent of the enclitics, see G. 28, N. 2. — τοῖς γέ, *any one* (emphatically), no matter how insignificant. — τι: with ὑπηρετήσαν, *did him (G. 184, 2) any (G. 159, N. 2) good service.* With ὑπηρετήσαν cf. γένοιτο in § 16, and the ref., and also δρόψῃ in § 19. — οὐδέντι . . . προβλάπτων, *he never let his (lit. any one's, G. 184, 3) zeul (see G. 129, 7) go unrewarded.* — κράτιστοι δῆ: cf. πλευστοι δῆ in § 12, and note. — ὑπηρέται, *supporters.* — Κύρῳ . . . γενέσθαι, *Cyrus was said to have had, lit. were said to have been (become) to Cyrus (poss. dat., G. 184, 4).*

19. τινὲς δύτα, *that any one was* (G. 280). So the two participles that follow. — οἰκονόμος, *manager, Eng. eco-nomist.* Note the derivation. — ἐκ τοῦ δικαλοῦ, *according to justice, or we may freely transl. δεανδὺ . . . δικαλοῦ, a skilful and just manager.* — ἡς δρχοὶ is part of the conditional relative sentence (= εἰ τινος δρχοὶ) and follows the construction of δρόψῃ. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 64, N. 2. — χάρας (G. 154). — οὐδέντι δν . . . ἀφείλετο, *he would never deprive (G. 206) him (lit. any one) of (his territory, sc. χάρα, and see G. 164).* The δν belongs equally to προσεδίδον (G. 212, 4). This form with δν, since it expresses a customary action, is a natural apodosis to εἰ δρόψῃ. See again G. 225, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 51, Rem. — ἐπέντετο (see πάροια, *to acquire*): cf. the use of the perf. and plup. of πάροια. — αὖ, *moreover.* — Κύρον (G. 164). — οὐ φθονῶν ἔδαλνετο δλλὰ πειράμενος, *it was clear that he did not envy, but strove, etc. (G. 280).*

20. φιλοὺς: emphasized by position and the following particles; obj. of θεραπεύειν. — δύστος τοιότατο (G. 233): the apodosis is θεραπεύειν (not γενέσθαι). This use of the optative, as also the corresponding one in conditional clauses not relative (G. 225), occurs repeatedly in this chapter and should be watched for. — δύτας: cf. δύτα in § 19. — ικανοὺς συνεργοὺς δ τι τυγχάνοι, *competent co-workers in whatever he chanced, etc.* — δ τι τυγχάνοι (= εἰ τι τυγχάνοι): see note on ἡς δρχοὶ in § 19. — βουλόμενος: cf. παρόν in i. 1. 2, and note. — πρός, *by* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 b, end). — κράτιστοι δῆ: cf. § 12 and § 18. — γενέσθαι: in the dir. form τύπετο (G. 260, 2).

21. αὐτὸς τούτῳ οὐτερέ ένεκα, κ. τ. λ., *he tried to secure for his friends that very object for which he thought that he needed friends himself, — viz. that he might have co-workers,* — *he tried (I say) also on his own part to be a most*

vigorous co-worker with his friends, etc. αὐτὸς τούτῳ would naturally have been the object of some verb like πράττειν after ἐπεράστω, but for this simple αὐτὸς τούτῳ πράττειν the amplified expression συνεργός . . . εἶναι . . . ἐπιθυμοῦντα was substituted, to express the same idea more fully. Cf. ἀ··· καί··· καί··· οὐσιῶν in iii. 5. 5.—τούτου: emphatic (G. 152).—ὅτου (i. e. οὐτινός, G. 84) is not gen. by assimilation, but gen. independently (G. 171, 2).—ἐπιθυμοῦντα: quoted after αἰσθάνοντο (G. 280).

22. οἴμαι: by syncope for οἴομαι. The word is here parenthetic, like our *I think*.—εἰς γέ ἀν ἀνήρ: cf. ἀν γέ ἀνδρί in § 12, and note.—διὰ πολλά, *for many reasons*.—δι···εδίσος, *dis-distributed*.—καὶ ὅτου: sc. πρός and the indef. antecedent of ὅτου.—δεόμενον: how is the part. to be construed?

23. κόσμον: in app. to δστα (G. 137, n. 4).—ἢ . . . ἢ, *either . . . or*.—ώς εἰς πόλεμον: the ώ marks the purpose for which the objects were sent (εἰς πόλεμον) as subjectively conceived by the sender. Cf. ώς εἰς μάχην in i. 8. 1, and ώς εἰς κύκλωσιν in i. 8. 23.—καλλ-ωπισμόν: der.?—καὶ, *moreover*, with the following sentence as a whole.—λέγειν: an imperfect infinitive with ἔφασαν (G. 203, n. 1): they said Θέλει, *he used to say*. Cf. ἀλέχθησαν γενέσθαι in § 18.—δύνατο (G. 245); νομίζοι (G. 243). Cyrus said οὐκ ἀν δυνατην . . . φίλους δὲ . . . νομίζω.

24. καὶ τὸ μὲν . . . ποιοῦντα, *and his surpassing* (G. 259, n.) *his friends in conferring great* (with emphasis) *benefits*, etc. τὸ μεγάλα is cognate acc. with εἰς ποιοῦντα, *benefiting* (G. 159, n. 2).—ἐπιμελεῖς: dative of respect (G. 188, 1, n. 1).—φίλων (G. 175, 2).

Page 33.—τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι: parallel in construction to τῇ ἐπιμελεῖᾳ (G. 262, 2).—ταῦτα takes up τὸ περιεῖναι, κ. τ. λ.

25. οἴνοι (G. 167, 4).—ἡμ···δεῖς (δέω, *to want*).—οὕπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου, *not for a long time* (G. 179, 1), lit. *not as yet now within a long time*.—ὅτι . . . ἐπέτυχοι represents ἐπέτυχον, κ. τ. λ., in the words of Cyrus (G. 243); but the next sentence gives the *actual* words of the messenger, who in delivering the gift would say: Κύρος οὕπω δὴ πολλοῦ . . . ἐπέτυχεν· τούτον οὖν τοι ἐπεψε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. the last half of § 26, τούτοις ἤσθι Κύρος· βούλεται, κ. τ. λ.—ἐπεψε, *to drink it up* (lit. *out*): cf. Germ. aus-trinken.—οὖν οἰς (G. 153, n. 1).

26. ἡμιθράτους: der.?—ἡμίσεα, *halves* (G. 139, 1).—ἐπι···λέγειν, *to say in addition* (to presenting the gifts), *to add*.—τούτον γεύσασθαι, *to take a taste of* (note the force of the aorist) *these* (G. 171, 2).

27. δύνατο: there is some MS. authority for δύνατο. See G. 233, n. 1, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, n. 1.—δια···πέμπων: force of διά?—ώς μη δύωσιν: subj. of purpose after a secondary tense (G. 216, 2). The student will note that a clause of *negative* purpose can be introd. either by the simple μή, or by μή preceded by οὐ, ως, δτως, the meaning in both cases being simply *that not, lest*. Cf. the examples under G. 216, 1.

28. πλειστοι, *very many*.—μελλουσι δύεσθαι: see i. 8. 1, and note.—ἐπιπονδαι···λογεῖτο, *he engaged in earnest conversation (with them)*, a denom. verb (G. 130, 2) der. from σπουδαῖος and λέγω, and σπουδαῖος from σπουδή, σπουδή (G. 129, 12).—ώς δηλοιη οὐς τιμῆ (τιμῆ indic.), *that he might show*

(G. 216, 1) *whom he honored* (G. 248, n., end). The purpose in his own mind was, ὡς δηλῶ (subj.) οὐσ τιμῶ (indic.). — Εἴ ἐν ἀκούει, from what I hear: cf. ἀκούει in i. 3. 20, and note.—Ἐλλήνων, βαρβάρων: with οἰδένα.

29. τούτου, τόθε: diff. of use? — δούλου δύτος, *though he was a slave*. Cf. i. 7. 3. — πλήν: conj. Cf. i. 8. 25. — καὶ οὗτος... εὑρε: the order is, καὶ οὗτος δὴ ταχὺ εὑρε αὐτὸν ὃν φέρε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. i. 6. 3. For οἱ, see G. 144, 2. — φίλατέρον: for the more common φιλέτερον (G. 73, 1, 10). — ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: the King. — ἀγαπώμενοι: ἀγαπᾶν is properly to show by outward signs that one regards; φιλέν (§ 28, end), on the other hand, is used of the love of friends. — τυγχάνειν δὲ is quoted after νομίζοντες (G. 246): the protasis lies in δύτε = εἰ εἴησαν (G. 226, 1).

30. τὸ αὐτῷ γενόμενον, *what happened to him*, sc. ἄντι: τεκμήριον is pred. — τοὺς... βεβαιούς: the article is expressed but once, because the writer is speaking of a single class of persons possessing all the qualities mentioned, *those who were faithful, well-disposed, and constant*.

31. συν-τράπεζοι: cf. διατράπεζοι in i. 8. 25. — ὑπέρ, *over, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3. 1 b). — τεταγμένος: what use of the part.? Explain the use also of πεπτωκότα in the next line.

CHAPTER X.

SYNOPSIS: The head and right hand of Cyrus are cut off; the King falls upon his camp, and the troops of Ariaeus flee (1). The camp is pillaged, except where a few of the Greeks, who have been left on guard, make a successful stand (2, 3). Both armies proceed as if victorious, the Greeks pursuing, the Persians plundering (4); but when they discover one another's movements, the King collects his forces, and Clearchus consults with Proxenus (5). The King is seen approaching; but instead of making an attack upon the rear of the Greek army, as is expected, he leads off his troops to the left (6), joined by Tissaphernes, who has charged through the Greek lines (7, 8). The Greeks fall back upon the river (9). The King draws up his troops opposite, but is again put to flight (10, 11). His cavalry rally upon a hill, but on the approach of the Greeks abandon this also (12, 13). Clearchus sends a scout upon the hill to report their movements (14), who brings back word that they are flying at the top of their speed (15). The Greeks abandon the pursuit, and wonder at the absence of Cyrus (16). They resolve to return to their camp (17); but finding this plundered, they encamp supperless for the night (18, 19).

Page 34. — 1. The narrative is resumed from Chap. viii. — ἀποτέμνεια... δεξιά: a Persian custom. In iii. 1. 17 it is stated that the head and hand of Cyrus were exposed to view fixed on a stake. — ἀποτέμνεια, διάκων, εἰσπίπτει: note and explain the number and agreement of these words. — Κύρεον: an adj. in place of the more common poss. gen. Κύρου. — στρατόπεδον: merely the place where they had halted in the hurry of the unexpected engagement (i. 8. 1 sq.). — οἱ μερὰ Ἀριαέου, *Ariaeus and those with him*, like the phrase οἱ ἄμφι Τισσαφέρνην, iii. 5. 1: μερὰ Ἀριαέου implies participation (G. 191, VI. 3, 1), but σὺν αὐτῷ above implies accom-

paniment (G. 191, II. 2). — ἐνθεν ὥρμητο: on the morning of the battle. It will be remembered that the battle was fought on the afternoon of the third day (i. 7. 20) after the midnight review mentioned in i. 7. 1, and that this review was held on the night after the third day's march from Pylae. Cf. note on ἐντεῦθεν, i. 7. 1. — τέτταρες . . . ὁδοῦ, and the distance was said to be four parasangs, lit. there were said to be four parasangs of the road.

2. πολλά: pred., to a great amount. — τὴν Φωκαΐδα . . . εἶναι, the Phocaean woman, the concubine (G. 137) of Cyrus, who was said (τὴν . . . λεγόμενην = ἦ . . . Ἐλέγειο: G. 276, 2; 137) to be, etc. Athenaeus says that she was first named Milto, and afterwards Aspasia. Phocaea was a city of Ionia. See the map. — λαμβάνει: with βασιλεύεις, above.

3. ἡ νεωτέρα, the younger (of the two). — γυμνή, lightly clad, without her manile. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: sc. τινάς (rare omission). — ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις (neut.), i. e. among the baggage. — ὅπλα ἔχοντες, under arms, standing guard (G. 279, 4). — καὶ ἀντιταχόντες (sc. οὐνοι). — οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, and some also of their own number: οἱ δέ is correl. to πολλοῖς μέν. Cf. note on τὰ μέν in i. 9. 6. — ἐντὸς αὐτῶν, within their lines. — ἐγένοντο: plural from the influence of ἀνθρώποι.

4. ἀλλήλων: why gen.? — οἱ Ἑλλῆνες: the main body. — οἱ μέν: referring chiastically (see note on ἀναβαίνει . . . ἀνέβη in i. 1. 2) to οἱ Ἑλλῆνες. — ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, thinking that they were victorious over all (G. 277, N. 2), but below, ὡς . . . νικῶντες, thinking that now they were all victorious.

5. This entire section consists of four clauses arranged chiastically, 1) referring chiefly to the Greeks, 2) chiefly to the King, 3) to the King, and 4) again to the Greeks. — εἴη: why opt.? — Τισσαφέρνους: stationed at the King's extreme left (i. 8. 9), he had charged through the right of the Greeks and joined the King in the camp of Cyrus in the rear (§ 7). — νικῆσεν, οἴχονται: one verb changed to the opt. by quot., the other not; for which see *Moods and Tenses*, § 70, 2, Rem. 1, end. Cf. also G. 247, N. 1. — πλησιαζότας: comparative how formed? (G. 71, N. 2). — πέμποιεν, ξολεῖν: in the direct questions, πέμπωμεν, ξολεῖμεν; (G. 256; 244). For εἰ . . . ἦ, introducing the double indirect question, see G. 282, 5.

6. δῆλος ἦν προστόν: cf. δῆλος ἦν ἀνάμενος in i. 2. 11, and note. — ὡς ἀδόκει δπισθεν, i. e. apparently from their rear. — στραφόντες, facing about. It will be remembered that the two forces were somewhat more than three miles apart (§ 4). — παρεσκευάζοντο . . . δεξόμενοι, prepared themselves with a view to his advancing in this way (i. e. δπισθεν) and to their receiving (him so): ὡς (G. 277, N. 2) belongs not only to δεξόμενοι (part. of purpose), but also to προσιόντος (part. of cause). προσιόντος (sc. αὐτοῦ) is the genitive abs.; δεξόμενοι modifies οἱ Ἑλλῆνες. See, further, *Moods and Tenses*, § 111. — ἦ δὲ παρῆλθεν, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 8. 23. The aor. is a pluperfect in force. Cf. i. 1. 2. — ἀπῆγαγεν, marched back.

Page 35. — 7. δῆλασε . . . τελταστάς, charged along (παρά) the river into (κατά) the Greek peltasts and through them. — διελαύνων δέ, and as he drove through them. For the force stationed at the extreme right of Cyrus when the battle began, see i. 8. 5. — ἔπαιον: probably with their swords.

— αἵτοις: the cavalry of Tissaphernes. — Ἀμφιπολίτης, of Amphilis, an important Greek city on the Strymon in Thrace. — θάγητο . . . γενέσθαι, was said to have proved himself (G. 260, 2) sagacious (*to have shown his wisdom*) by pursuing this course of tactics.

8. οὖν, at any rate. Cf. i. 2. 12. — ὡς . . . ἀπρλάγη, after he had come off (note the force of the tense) with the worst of it, lit. having less. — τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (G. 142, 2). — δρου πάλιν ἐπορεύοντο, proceeded back together.

9. τὸ σύναυμον: the historian has the position of the Greeks when the battle began in mind, their right then resting on the river. They had now faced about (*στραφέντες*, § 6). — μὴ προσάγοιεν, κατακόψεαν: why opt.? — ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας: lit. to fold back the wing. The object was to bring their line parallel to the river. At present they are at right angles to it. For the const. of ἔδοκει ἀναπτύσσειν, cf. i. 3. 11, and note, and with ἀναπτύσσειν, to fold back, cf. περιπτύσσειν, to fold about, enfold, above.

10. ἐβούλευντο: before the Greeks had even begun to change their position, while they were as yet simply planning it, the King was already executing relatively the same manœuvre, with the intention of presenting his front to the river. This shows that the apprehension of the Greeks, mentioned in § 9, θεωσαν . . . κατακόψεαν, was well grounded. It is not implied by ἐβούλευντο that the Greeks did not subsequently effect their change of position. — καὶ δὴ . . . συνῆ, the King in truth also, changing his line of battle to the same form (i. e. τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), stationed it opposite, just as at first he had met them for battle. — δύτας, παρατεταγμένους: what use of the participles? — αὕτης: see the description of the first charge of the Greeks in i. 8. 17 sq. — τὸ πρόσθεν: adverbial accusative (G. 160, 2). Cf. τὸ πρώτον, above.

11. ἐκ πλεονός, when at a greater distance from them. — ἐν-εἴλοκον: note the force of the preposition. — κόμης τινός: possibly Cunaxa (*Κοίναξ*), the village near which, as Plutarch says, the battle was fought.

12. ἀνεστράφησαν, rallied. — πέροι (without article), predicate, sc. ὄντες. The const. changes at τῶν δὲ ιππέων, where we should expect ιππέων δὲ, ἢ δὲ λόφος, κ. τ. λ. — τῶν . . . ἐνεπλήσθη: the passive of the construction explained in G. 172, 2. — τὸ ποιούμενον: τὸ γνησμένον is more common in this sense. — μὴ γνωστὰν: sc. τοὺς Ἑλληνας. — ἀετόν . . . ἀνατεταγμένον, (probably) a kind of (τινά) golden eagle, with wings extended, perched on a bar of wood (and rabed) upon a lance. πλετη, which commonly means a shield or target, is also used for δόρυ or λόγχη; and ἐπὶ ξύλον may refer to a horizontal piece of wood on which the eagle was perched. So ἐπὶ ξύλον καθεύδεις, roost like a fowl, Aristoph. Nub. 1431. The ξύλον with the eagle was then raised on the point of a lance (ἐπὶ πλετη). In the Cyrop. vii. 1. 4, the Persian standard is called ἀετός χρυσός ἐπὶ δόρατος μακρῷ ἀνατεταγμένος. Curtius, iii. 3. 16, calls it auream aquilam pinnas extendentem similem.

13. ἐνταῦθα: for ἐνταῦθος, just as we use here or there in the sense of hither or thither. — ἅλλοι ἅλλοθεν, some from one part (of the hill), others

from another, or, as we should say, some in one direction, others in another. — τῶν ἵππεων: with ἐψιλοῦτο, was cleared of the horsemen. Cf. τῶν ἵππεων ἐνεπλήσθη in § 12. — τέλος: cf. i. 9. 6.

14. ὡπ' αὐτόν, at the foot of it. — κατ-ιδόντας: note the preposition.

Page 36. — τί ἔστων: in what other mood might the verb have been? What case of the same sort is there in the next section?

15. σχεδὸν... ἦν, i. e. and about this time.

16. θίμενοι τὰ δύτλα: see note on i. 5. 14. — φαίνοιτο, παρεῖ: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — τεθυηκότα: cf. πεπτωκότα in i. 8. 28. — διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι, had gone (G. 246) in pursuit (G. 279, 4, N.). — καταληφθεῖν τι προεληλακέναι, had pushed on (give the direct form) to take possession of (G. 277, 3) something.

17. εἰ ἀγούντο ή ἀπίσουεν: cf. εἰ πέμποιντο ή λοιεν in § 5, and note. — δόρπητστόν, supper-time (although they went supperless, § 19): derived from δόρπον, which in Homer is the common name for the *afternoon* or *evening meal*, Lat. coena, the chief meal of the day. In the primitive Homeric times there were two regular meals, δριστόν, an early meal, *breakfast*, and δόρπον, a late meal, *supper*. Either could be called δεῖπνον, which in Attic Greek meant the *chief meal* of the day, and as this came late in the afternoon, δεῖπνον took the place of the older name δόρπον. Cf. ή-δεῖπνοι in § 19. The Attic δριστόν was a midday meal, *lunch*, or *dinner*.

18. διηρπασμένα (G. 279, 1). — εἰ τι... ἦν, whatever there was to eat or drink (ποτόν, verbal adjective from πίνω). — μεστάς: predicate adjective, sc. οὗτος, (that had been) full (G. 204, N. 1). — τὰς ἀρδίgas and the τοῦτο that is to be understood as the antecedent of the clause εἰ τι... ἦν are, along with τὰ πλειστα, objects of καταλαμβάνουσι. — εἰ λάβοι (G. 248, N.). — διμεῖαι: predicate to ήσαν, αὐτας being the subject. — καὶ ταύτας... διήρπονται: this is partly a repetition of what has already been expressed in διηρπασμένα. — τότε: see § 2.

19. ἀδαπτοί ήσαν· ήσαν ἀνάριστοι: what is such an arrangement of the parts of a sentence called? Note also the case that follows, καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Cf., concerning the fact stated in πρὶν γάρ... ἐφάνη, i. 8. 1, and note. — μέν: correlative to δέ in ii. 1. 2.

BOOK SECOND.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING.—CONCLUSION OF A TREATY.—BEGINNING OF THE MARCH HOMEWARD.—TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE FIVE GENERALS.—THEIR CHARACTERS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: The preceding Book is reviewed in outline (1). At daybreak the generals meet and express surprise that Cyrus neither appears himself nor sends

them orders. They resolve to march forward and meet him (2); but just at sunrise messengers bring word that he is dead, and that Ariæus proposes to set out on the next day for Ionia (3). The Greeks are afflicted at the death of Cyrus, but, accepting the facts, send word to Ariæus that they will make him king (4). Chirisophus and Menon go back with the messengers (5). Clearchus awaits their return, and the troops slaughter the beasts of burden for food (6). Heralds arrive from the King (7), who announce that he commands the Greeks to give up their arms and sue at his gates for favor (8). Clearchus, replying briefly, leaves the rest to answer while he returns to conclude a sacrifice (9). Various replies are made, some threatening, others conciliatory (10–14). Clearchus returns and shrewdly asks the advice of Phalinus, one of the heralds and himself a Greek, hoping that he will advise them not to surrender (15–18). But he replies that they have no chance for life except from the King's mercy (19). Clearchus contemptuously replies that they will keep their arms (20). Phalinus then informs them that the King will consider that a truce exists between himself and them, as long as they remain where they are; but otherwise, war (21). Clearchus bids him report that this is a satisfactory arrangement (22), but refuses to give any intimation of his intentions (23).

1. The first section of Book II., and the similar introductions prefixed to most of the following books, are generally supposed to be the work of an editor who divided the *Anabasis* into books. — ὡς . . . ἐστρατένετο: the first of five indirect questions, subjects of δεδήλωται. — οὖν: to introduce the recapitulation. — Κόρῳ: dative of advantage (G. 184, 3), not of the agent. — ἐκουμήθησαν: κοιμάω, *to put to sleep*, is akin to κείμα— τὸ πάντα, *at all points* (G. 160, 2). Why is the subject of νικᾶν omitted? (G. 134, 3). — νικᾶν: their thought was, νικάμεν, *we have conquered (are victorious)*, a pres. with an approach to the signif. of the perf. (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, N. 4). — ἥμπροσθεν (G. 141, N. 3). — λόγῳ, *narrative*, i. e. in Book I.

2. Δῆτε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: cf. i. 7. 2, and reference. For δῆτε, see note on μὲν in i. 10. 19: the editor above-mentioned (note on § 1) probably used the μέν at the beginning of § 1 without noticing the preceding sentence.

Page 37.— δῆτε πέμπτοι, φαίνοντο: cf. the opt. in i. 10. 16, and note. — σημανοῦντα: what does the part. express? — εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν: cf. i. 10. 5. — ἔως συμβέαν: optative in a dependent clause by quotation (G. 248, 3). What other mood might we have had, and why? What would then be added to ἔως?

3. ἐν δρυῇ δυτιών, *when they* (sc. αἰτῶν and cf. i. 2. 17) *were on the point of starting*. — ἥλιῳ: the names of the heavenly bodies, like proper names, may omit the article. Cf. ἥλιος in i. 10. 15. — Προκλῆς: of the third dec. (G. 52, 2, N. 3). — Τευθραύλας: a town and district in Mysia. — γεγονός, *descended from*. — Δαμαράτου, *Damaratus*, a Spartan king, deposed in 491 B. C., who settled in southwestern Mysia. See a dict. of biography. — Γλούσ: mentioned in i. 4. 16. He had now gone over to Artaxerxes. For *Tamos* see i. 2. 21, and note. — τεθυγκεν might have been τεθυγκοι (G. 248): cf. the optatives that follow, εἴη, λέγοι, φαίη. — σταθμῷ: cf. i. 10. 1.

ὅθεν = **εἴς οὐ**. — **ἡμέραν** (G. 161). — **περιμέναντι ἀν . . . μᾶλλοιν**: in the dir. form (G. 247), **περιμέναντι ἀν αὐτούς**, **εἰ μᾶλλουσιν ἥκαν** (G. 227, 1). — **τῇ ἡλιῃ**, *on the next day*. — **ἀπίνατι** (G. 200, N. 36) **φαῖη**: cf. with **λέγοι** **θη**, **κ. τ. λ.**, above, and see G. 260, N. 1. — **ἐπὶ Ιωνίᾳς**, *in the direction of Ionia* (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 a).

4. **ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι "Ελλῆρες πυνθανόμενοι**: chiasmic. — **Άλλα**: often begins a speech opposed to one that precedes. Cf. i. 7, 6. — **ἄφεδε . . . ζῆι**, *would that Cyrus were living* (G. 251, 2, N. 1). How else might the thought have been expressed? — **νικῶμεν**: cf. the note on § 1, and cf. also § 8, § 9, and § 11. — **εἰ μὴ ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἀν**: the prot. referring to the past, the apod. to the present (G. 222). — **καθεῖν**, see **καθῆσαι** (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — **τῶν νικάντων**: predicate genitive of possession (G. 169, 1). — **τὸ δρέπειν**: subject infinitive with the art. (G. 259, N.).

5. **ταῦτα**: why did the Greeks use the plural, and why do we translate by the singular? — **τοὺς ἀγγέλους**: Procles and Glus, § 3. — **καὶ γάρ**: cf. i. 1, 6, and note.

6. **οἱ μὲν**: asyndeton. See note on i. 2. 4, and cf. i. 2. 25. — **Ὥπεις, as, = ὁ**. — **ξύλοις**, *for fuel* (G. 137, N. 4). — **μικρὸν . . . οὐ**, *going forward a short distance* (G. 161) *from the main body, to where, etc.* — **οἰστότοις**, *arrows*, derived from the root that appears in **οἰστα**, the future of **φέρειν**. Lit. then **οἰστός** is *that which is borne or shot*. — **ἡτάκαζον**: *had compelled*: cf. **ἔποιησε** in i. 1. 2, with note, and **ἔποιιόρκα**, **συνεπολέμει** in i. 4. 2. — **τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας**: cf. i. 10. 6. — **φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι**, *left to be carried away*, i. e. for fuel (G. 265). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 97, N. 1, end. — **κρέα**: object of both participle and verb.

Page 38. — 7. **καὶ ήδη . . . ἀγοράν**: cf. i. 8. 1, and note. — **οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι**: in apposition to **κήρυκες**. We should expect **εἰς δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνος** "Ελλῆρι to follow. — **βάρβαροι**: predicate to **ὄντες** to be supplied. — **ἔντιμος ἔχων**, *to be in honor*. Cf. note on **ἔνοικώς ἔχον**, i. 1. 5. — **ἔποιημεν**: derivation? — **τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις = τῶν τακτικῶν**. For the case, see G. 182, 1. — **στρατο-μαχ(αν)**, *the art of fighting in heavy armor* (G. 131, 1).

8. **Ἐτι . . . ἀγαθόν**: what changes of mood are possible in this sentence? (G. 247): **λέγουσιν** has the force of an historical tense (G. 201, Rem.). — **νικῶν**: what use of the part.? Cf. also note on **νικᾶν** in § 1. — **παραδόντας**: for the relation of this part. to the following **ἴσντας εὑρίσκεσθαι**, cf. note on **ὑπολαβέν** in i. 1. 7. — **εὑρίσκεσθαι . . . ἀγαθόν**, *to seek to get whatever (lit. if any) favor they could* (G. 223).

9. **βαρύς**, *with anger*. — **ὅμως**: Clearchus, though himself angry, nevertheless, etc. — **εἴη**: why opt.? — **ἴφη**, *continued he*. — **οἱ τι**: cogn. acc. to **ἀποκρίνασθαι**, to be supplied with **ἔχετε**. — **ἥξω**, *will return*. Cf., as to meaning, **ἀθόντες** in § 1. — **Ὥπεις . . . ξεπρημένα**, *that he might see the entrails (after they had been) taken out*. — **θυμόνεος**: why middle?

10. **πρόσθεν ή παραδοίεν**: **πρόσθεν ή** (where **πρόν** might have been used) with the opt. (G. 240, with N.; 232, 4). There is no change of mood in quoting what Cleānor said (G. 245; 247, N. 3). — **θαυμάζω**, *should like to know*. — **πότερα . . . η**: double indirect question (G. 282, 5). — **ώς κρατέν**:

force of ἀς? — ή ἀς . . . δέρα, or as gifts (G. 137, N. 4) on the alleged (ἐός) ground of friendship, as if he had said ἀς φίλος ἄν. — τί . . . ἐλθόντα, why should he ask for them and (why should he) not (οὐ, not μή) come and take them? — πέσσας, by persuasion, opp. to ἀς κρατῶν. — τί έπειτα . . . χαρ-
σώνται: cf. i. 7. 8, τί . . . κρατήσωσιν.

11. πρὸς τάῦτα, in reply to this. — αὐτῷ: with ἀντιτοπεῖται (G. 186, N. 1). — έπειτα: why accented? — δημήτης: causal genitive (G. 173, 1, N. 2). — ἔαντον: pred. gen. of poss. (G. 189, 1). — μέση τῇ χάρῃ: cf. μέσου τοῦ παραδεῖσου in i. 2. 7, and note. — οὐδὲ: the οὐ goes with δύνασθε ἄν, the δέ (even) with εἰ . . . ὑμέν. — παρέχοι: sc. ἀποκτεῖναι.

12. εἰ μή, except, after a neg. Cf. i. 4. 18; i. 5. 6. — ξένοι = εἰ ξέ-
μεν (G. 226, 1). — ἄν: with χρησθαί (G. 246). So the ἄν that follows
belongs to στερηθῆναι, and παραδόντες = εἰ παραδοίμεν.

Page 39. — μή: the neg. with the imperative is always μή (G. 283, 2). — παραδόσαν: sc. ἡμέας as subject, which would have been expressed if
ἡμῖν had not preceded.

13. 'Αλλὰ . . . ἀχάριστα: ironical. On 'ΑΛΛΑ, see § 4. When Phalinus calls him a "philosopher," he means to stigmatize his remarks about ἀρετή and ἀγαθά as unpractical. The literal meaning of φιλό-σοφος? — ἄν, that you are (G. 280). — περιγενέσθαι ἄν, could (under any circumstances) prove superior (G. 246; 226, 2 b). — δυνάμεως: case (G. 175, 2).

14. ξέσαν: Xenophon writes as if he had not himself been present. — λέγαν: cf. λέγειν in i. 9. 23, and note. — τι-μαλακιζομένους, losing courage somewhat (ἴπτε). The underlying word is μαλακός, soft. For ἵτο, see G. 191, VI. 7, end. — τι (G. 188, 1, N. 2): cf. i. 3. 18, and note. — συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἄν: serving loosely as an apodosis to the first protasis also, εἴτε θέλοι, but belonging more fitly to the second.

15. εἰ, whether (G. 282, 4). — ἀποκεκριμένοι εἰν: periphrastic perfect (G. 118, 1). Why opt.? — Οὕτοι: in partitive appos. to the phrase ἄλλοι
ἄλλα (G. 137, N. 2). — ἄλλοι ἄλλα, some one thing, others another, lit. an
other other things. Cf. ἄλλοι ἄλλως in i. 6. 11, and ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν in i. 10.
13, and the notes. — λέγεις, mean, intend.

16. The sparring that follows to the end of the chapter shows much
Greek humor. — δούρων (G. 138, N. 7). — οἴμαι . . . πάντες, and all the
rest also, I think. οἴμαι is parenthetic and does not affect the construction.
— ἡμέας: sc. "Ελληρές οἴμεν. — πράγμασι: cf. i. 1. 11.

17. οἱ τι: the antecedent of this word is a cogn. acc. to συμβούλευσον,
give us whatever advice, etc. — ξεπάτα: to be how construed? — λεγόμενον
(by conjecture for ἀναλεγόμενον), διτὶ Φαλίνος, κ. τ. λ.: when reported as
follows, viz. "Phalinus once," etc. (G. 241, 2, Note). — συμβούλευμάνοις
συνεβούλευσον: why a difference in voice? The same distinction above.
— τάδε, the following advice (G. 148, N. 1), would be followed by the actual
advice, if the report should ever be made in Greece. What sort of an accu-
sative is τάδε? — διτὶ ἀνάγκη (sc. έστι), that it is inevitable.

18. οὐ-ήγετο, craftily (ἴπτε) suggested this. — εἰδηπέδες: declined like
ἀπής (G. 66, N. 3). — τι-ο-στρέψας, turning adroitly, avoiding the trap. —
παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, contrary to what he had expected (G. 191, VI. 4, 3 d).

19. *εἰ . . . ἐστιν, if you have one chance in ten thousand* (G. 77, 2, n. 3²). — *σωθῆναι*: limits *Δατίς*, to be supplied with *μέτα τις* (G. 261, 1). In the second line below, the noun *σωτηρίας* is used in the same sense. — *ἄκοντος*: used almost like a *participle*. Cf. i. 3. 17, and note.

Page 40. — 20. *πρὸς ταῦτα*: cf. § 11. — *'Ἄλλα*: cf. § 4, and note. — *ταῦτα*: cf. with *τάῦδε* in the next line (G. 148, n. 1). Cf. also § 21, beginning. — *ήμας*: emphatic, opposing what the Greeks thought to what the King had demanded (§ 8). — *ἔλευ*: sc. *ήμας* as subj. — *πλείστος* (G. 178, n.). — *ἔχοντες*: a second protasis (G. 226, 1) to *ἀντὶ ἔλευ*, which is quoted (G. 246): see note on *ἔχοντες* and *παραδόντες* in § 12.

21. *αὐτοῦ*: adv. — *ἔτι . . . εἴησαν*, *that there was* (not would be) *a truce*, etc., the direct form being *μένονται* (partic., sc. *ήμιν*, = *ἳν μένητε*) *σπουδαῖς εἰσών*, *there is a truce for you* (i. e. *for you to depend on*), *if you remain* (G. 223). See § 22, "Εἴν *μένονται*". Cf. below, *σπουδαῖς εἰσών* after *μενεῖτε*. — *εἴστε*: imperative of the first aor. *εἴστη*, not of the second aor. *εἴστοντο*. See the lexicon, and the Appendix to G., s. v. *εἴστοντο*. — *πότερα . . . η*: cf. § 10. — *ώς . . . ἀγγελῶ*, *shall I announce from you that there is war?* lit. *assuming that there is war, shall I announce it from you?* (G. 280, n. 4, ex.).

22. *ταῦτά*: not *ταῦτα*. — *ἀπε*: sc. *δοκεῖ*. — *ἀπεκρίνατο*: note the asyndeton. — *σπουδαῖς*: sc. *εἰσών* (see note on § 21).

23. *δι τι ποιήσοι* (indirect quest.): the fut. opt. is never used except as the representative of the fut. indicative in indirect discourse (G. 203, n. 3).

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Phalinus departs; and Chirisophus and a messenger return from Ariaeus, who refuses to be made king, and again tells the Greeks that he shall set out early next morning (1). Clearchus declines to say whether they will join him or not (2). At sunset he tells the generals and captains that the sacrifices were extremely favorable for joining Ariaeus (3), and gives directions how they shall proceed (4). From this time on, Clearchus assumed virtual command (5). Computation of distances (6). Miltocýthes deserts to the King (7). The Greeks join Ariaeus about midnight, and give and receive pledges of good faith (8, 9). Ariaeus shows that it will not do for them to return as they came (10, 11), and adds that at first they must make their marches as long as possible (12). At daybreak they begin their march northward (13). In the afternoon they think they see the enemy's cavalry (14); but scouts bring back word that what they see are only beasts of burden, and it is concluded that the King is encamping near by (15). Clearchus nevertheless advances straight on, and encamps in certain villages (16). In the darkness and confusion the Greeks make much noise and frighten the enemy (17), of whom, on the next day, no traces are to be seen (18). During the night the Greeks also suffer a panic (19). Clearchus by a stratagem succeeds in quieting them, and at daybreak they again fall into line (20, 21).

1. *αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαῖψ*: cf. *αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πορευοῦ* in iv. 3. 28. Glus also remained: cf. ii. 1. 3, 5. — *θέλον, φάη*: the first takes a clause with

στι, the second the inf. (G. 260, n. 1). — βελτίον, of higher rank. — οὐς οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι: for οὐς ἀνασχέσθαι, a rel. clause with the inf. by assimilation (G. 260, 2, n. 2). — αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος: pred. part. after a verb of *enduring* (G. 279, 1). For the case see G. 171, 2. Cf. further *Moods and Tenses*, § 112, 2, n. 2. — ἀλλ' εἰ, κ. τ. λ.: a change to the direct discourse. — ήδη, immediately. — εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise, i. e. if you do not come, = ήδη δὲ μή ήκητε. See § 2. In such alternatives, εἰ δὲ μή is regularly used in the second clause, even when a subjunctive or an affirmative verb would be required if the ellipsis were supplied. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, n. 2. — αὐτός (G. 138, n. 8), himself, adj. pron. emphasizing the omitted subj. of ἀπέμεναι, which is fut. in force (G. 200, n. 3 b).

2. οὗτος: with ref. to what follows as well as to what precedes. — χρή ποιεῖν: sc. ἡμᾶς, referring to both Greeks and barbarians. — ὕστερ λέγετε: understand before this χρή ἡμᾶς ἤκειν τῆς νυκτός. — εἰ δὲ μή: see note on εἰ δὲ μή in § 1. — πράττεται is more animated than χρή ὑμᾶς πράττειν would have been. — διποίον τι: τι adds to the indefiniteness of διποίον, whatsoever. — οὐδεὶς, i. e. not even to the friendly barbarians, just as before he had sent Phalinus off without satisfying him (ii. 1. 23, end).

3. λίγας: purpose (G. 265). Construe with οὐκ ἐγίγνετο, did not result (favorably) for going. This phrase is interpreted by καλὰ ἦν at the end of the section. — ἄρα, as it seems. — ἐν μέσῳ, between. Cf. i. 7. 6, and note. — ναυτορόπος (G. 131, 1, n.).

Page 411. — οὐ μὲν δή, nor yet indeed. — γέ: force? — οἶλόν τε: sc. ἔστιν, is it possible (G. 151, n. 4²). — ἔστιν: accent?

4. δειπνεῖν: explanatory of ὁδεὶς ποιεῖν. The infinitive const. changes to the imperative in συσκευάζεσθε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. πράττεται in § 2, and note. — σημήνη: cf. ισάλπιγξ in i. 2. 17, and note. — ὡς ἀναπάίσθαι (with σημήνη), shall give the signal for going to rest (G. 266, n. 1). — τὸ δεῖντρον: cogn. acc. to σημήνη to be supplied. — ἀνατίθεσθε: mid. (G. 199, 3). — ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, at the third signal. — τῷ ἥγουμένῳ, the van (neut.) = τοῖς ἥγουμένοις. — πρός, towards: note that the genitive follows (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — τὸ δπλα = τοὺς δπλίτας. Cf. δπτίς in i. 7. 10.

5. τὸ λοιπόν: adv. (G. 160, 2). — δεῖ: sc. φρονεῖν.

6. This entire section is thought by many to be an interpolation. — ἀριθμὸς τῆς δόσου, amount of the way, distance. — τῆς Ἰωνίας, in Ionia (G. 167, 6). — μάχης, scene of the battle, battle-field. So below. — θέλορρο εἶναι, there were said to be, it was said that there were.

7. ἐνεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, when it became dark (G. 134, n. 1 c). Cf. τήμερα ἐγένετο in § 13, and ὅψε ἦν in § 16. — εἰς, ὡς: cf. note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

8. τοῖς ἀλλοῖς: dative (G. 184, 3) after ἥγετο in place of the genitive (G. 171, 3). — κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμάτα, in accordance with his previous instructions. For these see § 4. — παρὰ Ἀριατῶν: why acc.? — μέτρα νίκας: cf. note on i. 7. 1. — ἐν . . . δπλα, halting under arms in line of battle. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. θέμενοι modifies the following nominatives, the officers being said to halt when they order their men to do so. — οἱ κράτοτοι, the highest in rank. Cf. βελτίον in § 1. — μήτε . . . τέ, not only not

... but also : the correlatives are merely τε . . . τε. — προδάστειν, θεωθαι, ἡγήσεσθαι : quoted (G. 202, 3 a). — προσ-ώμοσαν, swore besides (G. 191, VI. 6, end).

9. εἰς ἀσπίδα, i. e. the blood was caught in the hollow of a shield. — οἱ Ἑλληνες, οἱ βάρβαροι : subjects of ὠμοσαν.

10. ἐτελ θὲ τὰ πιστά ἔγενετο, but when the pledges had been given (aor. with force of plup.); with the pledge here given (an oath and offering) cf. ii. 3. 28, where the pledge is an oath and the giving and taking of the right hand, and iv. 8. 7, where it is an oath and the exchange of spears.

Page 42. — πότερον . . . ή : how used? — ήντηρ : sc. ὅδον, and for the construction of this accusative with ἡλθομεν, cf. note on ὅδον in i. 2. 20.

11. ἀπόντες : prot. = εἰ ἀπόιμεν (G. 226, 1). — παντελῶς, utterly, der. from παν-τελής (τελος). — ὥπο λιμοῦ : cf. i. 5. 5, and note. — ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν, we have to depend on : for the meaning of ὑπάρχω, cf. note on i. 1. 4. — οὐδέν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, nothing in the way of provisions. — ἐπτακαβεκα γάρ : γάρ is doubly related, introducing not only a ground for παντελῶς . . . ἀπολομέθα, but also one of the causes of ὑπάρχα . . . ἐπιτηδείων. — σταθμῶν : the σταθμός is here looked upon as a period of time. Cf. for the case ἡμέρων in i. 7. 18. — ἔγγυτάτῳ : adj. (G. 141, N. 3; 142, 2). — ἐνθα, there. — νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν, i. e. I and those with me. νῦν δέ corresponds to ήν μὲν ἡλθομεν, and τῶν δ' . . . ἀπορήσομεν to μακροτέραν μέν. — μακροτέραν : sc. ὅδον ; cf. note on ἡντηρ in § 10. — ἐπιτηδείων : why genitive?

12. πορευτέον : sc. ἔστι (G. 281, 2). — σταθμόις : cognate acc. to πορευτέον, we must make our first marches, lit. march our first marches. — ὡς . . . μακροτάτους, as long as possible. Cf. note on i. 1. 6, and ὡς πλειστον just below. μακροτάτους is predicate (cf. G. 142, 3). — ἀποσπασθάμεν : explain the accent and mood. — στρατεύματος : why genitive? — ἀπαξ : cf. note on i. 9. 10. — δύο : here indeclinable (G. 77, 1, N. 1). — ἡμέρων : gen. of measure (G. 167, 3). — ἀπόσχωμεν : why subj.? — οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται : emphatic fut. affirmation (G. 257). — στρατεύματι : dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), equiv. to ἐάν ξει δλίγον στράτευμα, corresp. to πολὺν δ' ξειων (below) = ἐάν ξει. — σπανεῖ : fut. of σπανίω (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ξειωγε is expressed for emphasis, and further emphasized by γέ and by its position.

13. Ἡν δυναμένη, amounted to, meant : οὐδὲν μᾶλλο δυναμένη stands like a pred. adjective after ήν, the expression differing little from ἔδύνατο. — στρατηγία, plan of operations. — ἀποδράναι ή ἀποφυγεῖν : cf. i. 4. 8, and note. — τὸν ἥλιον, ἥλιψ : cf. note on ἥλιψ in ii. 1. 3. — τούτο : cf. ἔψευσθη τούτο in i. 8. 11, and note.

14. Ήτ δέ, but furthermore. — δεῖλην : cf. note on i. 8. 1. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων : depends on the omitted (indefinite) antecedent of οἱ (G. 152). — οἱ μὴ ξτυχον : a conditional relative clause (G. 232, 1; 231, end).

15. εἰσίν, νέμοιτο : partial change of mood in quotation. Cf. note on i. 10. 5. — ἐστρατοπεδένετο : impf. (not plup.), was encamping. — καλ γάρ καλ : an unusual connection of particles, and (they were sure of this) for smoke also, etc.

16. ἀπερηκότας, were weary, as pf. of ἀπ-αγορεύω, to renounce, give up,

grow weary: the perf. ἀπέέρηκα, *to have grown* (and so to be) weary. Cf. i. 5. 3. — οὐ . . . ἀπέκλινε, *he did not, however, even* (Sc in οὐδὲ) *turn aside*, much less retreat.

Page 43. — εἰθίωρον, *straight on*, an uncommon word. — εἰς: with ref. to the previous marching *into* the villages. — καὶ . . . ξύλα, *even the very timbers in (from) the houses* (G. 191, N. 6). Cf. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων in i. 2. 3, and note.

17. δῆμος: notwithstanding the villages had been pillaged. — τρόπῳ τῷ, *after a fashion*. — σκοταῖοι, *in darkness* (G. 138, N. 7). — ἐπίγχαρον: sc. αὐλόζόμανοι. — ὥστε ἀκούειν, ὥστε ξέφυγον: in the second case the result is stated as an independent fact, rather than merely as a result (G. 266, 1; 237)

18. καὶ βασιλέας, *even the King*, and not only οἱ ἐκ τῶν στρατεύμάτων φεύγοντες. — οἰς (G. 153, with N. 1).

19. τοῖς Ἑλλησι: after the compound verb (G. 187). — οἶον: masculine line accusative, subject of γίγνεσθαι, *qualem par est fieri*.

20. τὸν τότε: sc. κηρύκων. Homer says (*Iliad* v. 786) that Stentor (cf. Eng. *stentorian*), the "brazen-voiced," was able to shout as loud as fifty other men together. — τούθον: taking up Τολμίθην. — τὰ δπλα: in a Greek camp the arms (heavy shields and spears) were generally stacked in one place. — οἵ λήψεις: cf. i. 6. 2, and note. — οἵ δὲ μηρόσῃ, λήψεις: conditional relative sentence referring vividly to the future (G. 232, 3). — τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: cf. i. 7. 18.

21. εἰς τάξιν τὰ δπλα τίθεσθαι, *to get under arms in* (lit. *into*) *line of battle*. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. — ὡςπερ εἴχον, *just as they were* (or stood). — ἡ μάχη, i. e. *the battle of Cunaxa*.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: At sunrise the King sends heralds to propose a truce (1). Clearchus arranges the army so as to present the most formidable appearance, and, coming forward (2, 3), asks what they want (4). He directs them to tell the King that they must fight first, as the Greeks have had no breakfast (5). The heralds depart, but soon return with word that, if the truce (which is to be general) should be concluded, the Greeks will be furnished provisions (6, 7). Clearchus thinks best to conclude the truce, and commands the heralds to lead the way (8, 9). They come upon ditches and canals, over which they are obliged to construct bridges (10). Clearchus punishes those who loiter, and himself takes part in the work (11), so that the older men also give their assistance (12). Clearchus suspects that the King has flooded the plain with a purpose (13). They arrive at certain villages where they procure provisions (14–16). They remain here three days, and Tissaphernes comes to confer with them (17), and says that he has asked the King to allow him to lead them back to Greece (18, 19), but that the King wishes to know why they took the field against him (20). Clearchus explains how they were drawn into the expedition (21, 22), but says that now, however, they wish simply to return (23). Tissaphernes reports this to the King (24), and on the third day returns saying that the King consents to his leading them home in safety (25). He swears on his part to do this faithfully

and to furnish provisions; and the Greeks swear to do no harm to the country on their way (26–28). Tissaphernes then goes back to the King, promising to return after completing his preparations (29).

1. Ὁ . . . ἐγράψα : in ii. 2. 18. — τῷδε, *from what follows* (G. 188, 1; 148, N. 1). — πέμπων : sc. κήρυκας (cf. ii. 1. 7).

2. τοὺς προφύλακας, *the pickets*. — ἔξητον : diff. in use between this word and αἰτών on the one hand and ἐρωτών on the other? — τυχόν, ἐπιστοκών : classify these partic. — εἶπε, *told*. Cf. θεραπεύν in ii. 3. 8, and note. — δῆρι ἀν σχολάσῃ : on the principle of indirect discourse we might have δῆρι σχολάσει (G. 248, 3).

3. κατέστησε, *had drawn up*. — ὥστε . . . πικνήν, *so that it should be well arranged to be seen* (G. 261, 2) *everywhere as a compact line* (i. e. to have this appearance in all parts).

Page 44.—μηδένα : why not οὐδένα? — εἴναι : in the same construction with the preceding ἔχειν. — τέ, τί: the first τέ is correlative to the καὶ before τοὺς ἄλλους; the second, to the καὶ before εὐθεστάτους. — τεύτα, i. e. προελθεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

4. πρός, *in front of* (G. 191, VI. 6). — ἤκοιεν, *had come*, the direct form is ἤκομεν (G. 200, N. 3) δινδρες οὔτινες ἐσόμεθα (G. 247, N. 1). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 74, 1, N. 1.

5. μάχης : genitive of want (G. 172, 1). — ὁ τολμήσων, *the man that will dare* (G. 276, 2), subj. of the preceding έστιν. — μὴ πορίσας = δὲν μὴ πορίσῃ (G. 226, 1). — Notice διειστον at both beginning and end of the last sentence.

6. φ: the antecedent is the preceding sentence, ἦκον ταχό. — δοκοῖεν, ἤκοιεν: the direct discourse would show the person of each verb: εἰκότα δοκεῖτε . . . καὶ ἤκομεν . . . οἱ ἔξουσι ἔθεν ἔξει. — οἱ . . . ἐπιτήδαι, *who would conduct them* (the purpose for which the guides were brought), if there should be a truce, to a place (sc. ἔκειστε) from which they would get (the object in view) provisions. For this use of the fut. ind. with relative words (here οἱ and ἔθεν) to express purpose or object, see G. 236, with N. 3. For the partial change of mood in the quoted sentence διτ. . . . ἐπιτήδαι, see note on διτ. . . . βασιλεῖς in § 4.

7. εἰ . . . ἀποιῶντι, *whether he was making a truce merely (ἀντότι)* for the men (as they were) coming and going, i. e. for the King's envoys. The direct question was σπένδομαι . . . ή . . . έσονται. — τοὺς ἄλλους (G. 184, 3 or 4). — διαγγελθῆ: why subjunctive? Force of διά?

8. μεταστησάμενος, *had them retire, and, etc.* (G. 191, VI. 3, end). — έδόκει ποιεῖσθαι : cf. έδόκει πορεύεσθαι in i. 2. 1, and note. — καθ' ἡσυχίαν, i. e. without being harassed by the enemy. Force of the suffix in ἡσυχία? — ἐπί, *after, in order to get*, involving the idea of purpose, but below, in § 9 at the end, πρός in the sense simply of *to*.

9. διατρίψω (sc. χρόνον). — ἀποδέξῃ: why subj.? For the force of ἀπό, cf. ἀπο-ψηφίσωνται in i. 4. 15, and note. — καιρός, *proper time*, whereas χρόνος is *time* in general.

10. οἱ μὲν: correlated by Κλέαρχος μάντοι. — ταῦφροι: cf. for the case, σθ, i. 8. 1. — αἰδίστην, *canās*. — ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι, so that they were not able, ὡς with the inf. to express result (G. 266, n. 1). Cf. i. 5. 10, and note. — ἐπουούντο: sc. γεφύρας. — τὸν ἐκπεπτωκότες: periphrastic pluperfect (G. 118, 4), which makes the idea of *being* on the ground more prominent than that of *falling*.

Page 45.—11. Κλέαρχον . . . ἐπεστάτει: lit. *to learn Clearchus well, how he commanded*. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, i. 1. 5, and also i. 6. 5. — τὸ δόρυ, *his spear*, but in the next line βακτῆρα, *a staff or stick*, without the art., because the staff was no part of his regular equipment as a soldier. Give the stem from which βακτῆρα is derived. — εἰ δοκοῖ: why opt.? — τὸν ἐπιτίθεμον: sc. ταλαι (G. 261, 1). — ἔπαιστεν ὀν: an iterative aorist (G. 206). For the use of the stick in Spartan military discipline, see i. 5. 11, and note. — αὐτὸς προσελάμψανεν, *took hold himself*. — μη̄ οὐ (G. 283, 7): the μη̄ negatives the following inf. regularly; the οὐ (here very irregular) strengthens the neg. idea underlying αἰσχύνην εἶναι, *were ashamed, were un-willing* (*Moods and Tenses*, § 95, 2, n. 1, Rem.).

12. πρός: cf. i. 9. 20. It is doubtful whether we should read αἴστος or αἴτον. MSS. αἴτον. — οἱ . . . γεγονότες here must mean *those that were thirty years old and less*, which would regularly be οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη (as in vii. 3. 46). For the case of ἔτη, see G. 161. — σπουδάζοντα, *in earnest*. — προσελάμψανον: cf. § 11.

13. ὑποτετένειν: cf. i. 1. 1, and note. — μη̄: in the direct form οὐ (G. 242, 4). — ἅρδεται: with οὐα (sc. τοιαύτῃ), on the principle of G. 261, 1: *it was not the proper season for watering, etc.* Cf. *Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, n. 1. — ἥδη, *forthwith, at the very start*. — εἰς, *with reference to, for*. — τούτου ἔνεκα: taking up ἕτα προφανούσιο. Cf. G. 215, Rem. — ἀφικένειν: see ἀφῆμεν.

14. ὅθεν: cf. ii. 1. 3, and note, and below, § 16. As an adverb ὅθεν goes with λαμβάνειν; as a relative it introduces the sentence. — ἀπέδειξαν λαμβάνειν, *gave them notice to take*. — οἶνος φοινίκεων, *palm wine*. Cf. i. 5. 10. — ὅξος . . . αὐτῶν, *a sour* (cf. ὅξος) *drink made from the same by boiling* (ἔψω, *to boil*).

15. αὐτὰλ αἱ βάλανοι, *the dates themselves* (opposed to the wine, etc.), in partitive appos. (G. 137, n. 2). — τοῖς οἰκέταις: with ἀρέκειντο (G. 184, 3). οἰκέτης, from οἶκος (G. 129, 2 b), properly a *house-servant*. — ἀρέκειντο, *were set apart; equiv. to pass. of ἀπετίθεσαν, below*. — καλλιώνεις: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — τήλεκτρον: abridged for τήλεκτρον δψεως. Cf. the similar case explained in G. 186, n. 2. — τὰς δέ τινες, *but some* (τινάς) *others*. — τραγήματα, *for sweetmeats, to be eaten at dessert* (G. 137, n. 4). — καὶ ἦν . . . τὸν μέν, *and these* (the τραγήματα, G. 135, 2) *were a palatable thing* (G. 138, n. 2 c) *also at a symposium* (πότον, *not ποτόν*). — κεφαλ-αλγεῖς: derivation? See G. 131, 1.

16. τὸν ἕγκέφαλον, *the crown* (lit. *brain*), a large terminal cabbage-like growth at the top of the stem of the palm-tree. — ιδιότητα, *peculiar-ity* (see G. 129, 7). — τρισνής, *flavor*. Cf. ἥδη, above. — ἔξαιρεσιν: why opt.? — οἷος, *entirely* (G. 138, n. 7): we sometimes say. *it all dried up.*

17. ὁ . . . ἀδελφός: note the position of the genitives (G. 142, 1). — γυναικός: by name *Statira*. — αὐτοῖς: case (G. 186). Cf. Ελλάδι in the next section.

18. γείτων: predicate nom. to οἰκώ (G. 136; cf. 137, N. 4). — οἰκώ: see *Hellen*. iii. 2. 12, Καρία, ἐνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος.

Page 46. — πολλὰ κίμηχαν (i. e. καὶ ἄμ.), *many difficulties*, lit. *many and inextricable* (*struits*, G. 141, N. 4): ἀμήχανα = ἐν οἷς οὐδεμία μηχανή. — εύρημα, *a piece of good fortune*; from εύρισκω (εύ-, G. 129, 4). — εἰ δυναίμην: we might have had *ἐὰν δύνομαι* (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, N. 1), as the context implies, *I thought it would be a εύρημα*, — οἴμαι . . . ἔχειν, for *I think it would not be a thankless labor for me* (G. 246). For ἀχαρίστως ἀν ἔχειν, cf. note on i. 1. 5, end. — πρὸς ὑμῶν: as if a passive had preceded in place of ἀχαρίστως ἔχειν.

19. ἐπιστρατεύοντα: quoted after ήγγαλα (G. 280). For the fact mentioned, see i. 2. 4 — καὶ μόνος, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 10. 7 and 8. — σὺν τούσδε: with a gesture. — αὐτῷ: the King.

20. βουλεύεσθαι: what other tenses might be used? (G. 203, N. 2). — εὐ-πρακτότερον: verbal adj. (G. 117, 3) in the comparative. The subj. of εὐ-πρακτότερον *ἥ* is διαπράξασθαι understood, the διαπράξασθαι expressed being the object of δύνωμα.

21. μεταστάτητες: second aor. Cf. μεταστησάμενος in § 8. — Κλέαρχος δ' Ἐλεγεν, i. e. *Clearchus was their spokesman*. — ὡς βασιλεῖς πολεμήσοντες, *with the intention of warring with the King* (G. 186, N. 1). When, as here, the subject of the leading verb is also the speaker (cf. G. 277, N. 2), ὡς simply emphasizes the *cause or purpose* denoted by the participle.

22. The speaker is referring in this section, probably, to the agreement entered into at Thapsacus, i. 4. 11–13. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: objects of ἥσχυνθημεν (G. 158, N. 2). The infinitive προδύναται is a second obj. of the same verb (G. 260, 1). — παρέχοντες (sc. αὐτῷ), *when we had offered* (G. 204, N. 1). — εὖ ποιεῖν: purpose (G. 265; 165, N. 1).

23. ἐπει: here, *since*; above, in § 22, *when*. — βασιλεῖς . . . ἀρχῆς: cf. ii. 1. 11. — τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. Cf. below, ήμᾶς εὖ ποιῶν. — εἰ τις . . . λυποΐη, i. e. *if no one should molest us*: *τις* is like French *on* and German *man*, with no exact English equivalent. — ἀδικοῦντα: sc. τινά, and cf. βουλευομένους in i. 1. 7. — ήμᾶς . . . ὑπάρχῃ, *shall take the first step also (καὶ) in doing us good* (G. 279, 1), καὶ εὖ ποιέων emphatically opposed to ἀδικοῦντα. — εὖ ποιούντες (G. 277, 2).

Page 47. — 24. ήκω: mood? — αἱ . . . μενόντων, *let the truce continue*. — ἄγορά παρέζομεν, *will provide a market*, i. e. an opportunity for the Greeks to buy provisions.

25. εἰς: cf. εἰς ἥω, i. 7. 1, and note. — διαπεπραγμένος (cf. διαπράξασθαι in § 20): with δοθῆναι as its object. — δοθῆναι αὐτῷ: cf. the corresponding active δοῦναι ἴμοι in § 18. — καὶ τερ: with the following concessive part. (G. 277, N. 1 b). — ἀξιον βασιλεῖ, *befitting the King* (G. 185; 184, 2). Cf. G. 178, N.

26. τελος: cf. i. 10. 13. — παρέξειν: sc. ήμᾶς. The inf. is quoted after

the idea of *promising* in πιστά (G. 202, 3 a). So ἀπάξειν. — οὐδὲν δ' ἂν μή: why not ou?

27. πορεύεσθαι, ξένι: both quoted after δημόσιαι. Cf. the two future infinitives in § 26. — ὡς διὰ φιλίας (sc. χάρας), *as* (you would go) *through a friendly country*.

28. ταῦτα ξένι: cf. note on i. 3. 20. — ἄμοσαν . . . ξένιαν: cf. note on πιστά in ii. 2. 10.

29. ὡς βασιλέα: cf. i. 2. 4. — διαπράξωμαι, *shall have accomplished*, with future perfect force (*Moods and Tenses*, § 20, N. 1). — ἡ δέομαι: sc. διαπράξασθαι. — ὡς ἀπάξειν καὶ ἀπιών (G. 200, N. 3 b): cf. note on ὡς πολεμήσοντες in § 21.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks and Ariaeus remain encamped near each other for more than twenty days, during which time the barbarians receive visits from their friends (1). The Greeks grow uneasy and ask their generals why they remain, and express their suspicions of the King's intentions (2–4). Clearchus answers that it will not do to go away, as that would break the truce and they would be left without provisions, guide, or friends (5); that, moreover, the Euphrates bars their way, and that they have no cavalry (6). He declares his faith in the King's oath (7). Tissaphernes and Orontas arrive with their armies (8). The Greeks proceed with Tissaphernes as guide (9), but are suspicious of the Persians, and march apart from them. Mistrust increases on both sides, and they sometimes come to blows (10, 11). They arrive at the wall of Media (12), and from thence a march of two days brings them to the Tigris. The Greeks encamp near Sütace, and the barbarians cross the river (13, 14). After supper a man brings a warning from Ariaeus to the Greeks to beware of a night-attack, and to guard the bridge over the Tigris (15–17). Clearchus is greatly alarmed (18); but the story is observed to be inconsistent (19, 20), and after questioning the messenger it is concluded that he has been sent with an ulterior object (21, 22). Nevertheless, a guard is sent to the bridge (23). At daybreak the Greeks cross the bridge (24), and proceed in four days to the river Phrycus. Near Opis they are met by an illegitimate brother of the King, who views them as they pass, and is amazed at their number (25, 26). They proceed through Media, plundering the villages of Parysatis (27), and along the right bank of the Tigris, procuring provisions from Caenae, a city across the river (28).

1. εἴκοσιν: sc. ἡμέρας. — οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, *his other relatives*: ἀναγκαῖος (from ἀνάγκη, see G. 129, 12) is the Lat. *necessarius*. — δεξιάς, assurances, pledged by the person who brought them with the *right hand*. — μή . . . αὐτοῖς, *that the King would bear them no ill-will* (μνηστικακήσεαν: μιμηστικω, stem μνα-, and κακός). The inf. is quoted after δεξιάς; cf. παρέξειν in ii. 3. 26. — ἐπιστρατεῖας: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — τῶν παρουχομένων, *of what was past* (G. 200, N. 3).

2. οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον, *Ariaeus and those with him* (G. 141, N. 3). Cf. οἱ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, iii. 5. 1. — ἔνδηλοι . . . νοῦν, *evidently paid less regard to the Greeks*. For προσέχοντες, cf. ἀνιώμενος in i. 2. 11, and note.

Page 48.—3. ή may introduce the second part of an alternative question (G. 282, 5), even when the former part is only implied (here πότε, πον δλλως έχε). Cf. the use of an in Lat. — περι παντός ποιήσατο: cf. περι πλείστου ποιωστο in i. 9. 7, and note. — ή: subj. of purpose (G. 216). The opt. referring to the future has the force of a primary tense (*Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 2). — στρατεύειν: dependent on φόβος (G. 261, 1, with N. 1). We might have had οι δλλοι "Ε. φοβώνται . . . στρατεύειν. — ιπάγεται: cf. ii. 1. 18. — διεσπάρθαι: see διασπέρω and G. 262, 1. — ἀλισθῆ: cf. διαπράξωμαι, ii. 3. 29. — οὐκ . . . ήμιν, it is not possible that he will not attack us, lit. there is not how (introducing the indir. quest.) he will not, etc. (G. 283, 8).

4. ή . . . ἀποτελέσαι, is either trenching or walling off some point. Cf. the use of τι in i. 10. 16. — τοσούδε, so few: accent (G. 27, 4). — ἐπι . . . αὐτοῦ, at his very doors.

5. ἐπι πολέμῳ = πολεμήσοντες. — ἔπειτα, moreover, introducing πρώτον μέν, αὖτις δέ, etc. — διεσπάρθαι, (a place) from which. — ἐπιστοιμέθαι: purpose (G. 236). — ἄμα and εὐθύς (G. 277, N. 1) both qualify ἀφεστήσαι, which is a future perfect (G. 110, IV. c, N. 2; 200, N. 9). Cf. below, λελεψεται. — δύντες: sc. φύλοι.

6. πωταρός: emphatic, as if he had said, but as to rivers, I don't know whether (it), etc. — διαβατός: the verbal in -τός used personally (G. 281, 1). — οὐ μὲν δή: cf. i. 9. 13, and note. — διν, i. e. έάν. — οὐ . . . εἰσιν: implying also, nor will there be. — τῶν δὲ . . . ἄξιοι, whereas the enemy's horse are very numerous (lit. the most, compared with those of other nations) and very efficient. — νικώντες = ει νικήμεν; but ήττωμένων, to which σωθῆναι is apod., = έάν ήττώμεθα, or perhaps ει ήττώμεθα (see *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 2b). — οἶον τε: sc. έστιν.

7. σύμμαχα, helps. — δι τι, on what account (G. 160, 2; 149, 2'). — αὐτόν: repeating βασιλέα. — θεός: cf. θεόν in ii. 3. 22, and G. 158, N. 2.

Page 49.—8. ὡς ἀπίον (G. 277, N. 2): here the writer and the subj. of the leading verb are not the same person (cf. note on ὡς πολεμήσοντες in ii. 3. 21, and ii. 3. 29), so that ἀπίον expresses the intention professed by Tissaphernes. There is nothing in the use of ὡς to indicate the historian's opinion as to the honesty of this profession. See note on ὡς βοηθήσονται in § 25. — εἰς οἰκον = οἰκάδε: see note on οἰκώ in ii. 3. 18. Besides Caria he now had the satrapy of Cyrus. — ήγε, i. e. Orontas. Cf. iii. 4. 13. — ἐπι γάμῳ, in marriage, as his wife.

10. αὐτοί . . . ἔχόρουν, proceeded [themselves] by themselves. — ἐστρατοπεδεύοντες: the Greeks and barbarians. — ὥστε πολεμίους (sc. φυλαττόμενοι), just as (if they were guarding against) enemies (G. 277, N. 3).

11. τοῦ αὐτοῦ: sc. τόπου, and cf. i. 8. 14. — πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον: cf. i. 5. 11.

12. τεῖχος: mentioned in i. 7. 15. If we suppose that the southern part of this wall, which reached from the Tigris to the Euphrates, was in ruins, it is easy to account, first, for Xenophon's not describing it in i. 7. 15, but here; and, secondly, for the King's digging the ditch for the purpose, on

that assumption, of completing the line of defence furnished by the northern part of the wall. In the retreat Tissaphernes led the Greeks westward on the southern side of the ditch, in order that they should not see the rich plain of Babylonia, and so brought them outside of the wall again, which they now pass *within* (*παρῆλθον*) on their way to the Tigris. — ἦν φέδος μημένον = φέδος μητο (G. 118, 4). — κειμέναι, *lying*; we say *laid*. — ποδῶν: why gen.? — μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο, *but in length, it was said*, etc.

13. τὴν δ'... ἐπτά, *and the other (by its having been) bridged over* (means, G. 277, 2) *with seven boats*. See note on § 24. — ήσαν ἀπό: cf. στολή in i. 2. 7. — ὕσπερ: sc. κατατέτησαν.

14. δένδρων: with παράδεισος (G. 167, 4). If it went with δασίος it would be δένδροις (cf. iv. 7. 6). — οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: sc. ἐπικήνησαν.

Page 50. — 15. ἔτυχον . . . δύτες, *happened to be walking*. — πρὸ τῶν δηλῶν: cf. note on ii. 2. 20. — οὐκ ἤθητε, *did not ask for, ask to see*. — καὶ ταῦτα ἄν: cf. i. 4. 12, and note.

16. δτι: introducing direct discourse. Cf. i. 6. 8, end, and note. — Ἐπερψε: agreement (G. 135, n. 1). — πιστοῖ: cf. note on i. 5. 15. — μὴ ἐπιθώνται (G. 216).

17. ὡς διανοεῖται, *since T. intends*, etc.; but in the next line ὡς, *in order that*. — τῆς διώρυχος: the second of the two mentioned in § 13; over this there was only a pontoon bridge, which could be destroyed easily.

19. νεανίσκος τις: conjectured to have been Xenophon himself. — οὐκ ἀκλούσθα, *inconsistent*. — τό τε ἐπιθέσθεται καὶ λύσει, i. e. *the two stories of an intention to attack, and at the same time to destroy the bridge*: we should expect τό also before λύσει. For the unusual fut. inf. see G. 202, 3 b; also *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, n. 2 b. — νικᾶν: sc. αὐτούς as subject. — τί δεῖ . . . γέφυραν: *why need they destroy the bridge?* implying *what good will it do them*, etc.? It is thus a proper apod. to the future prot. ἂν . . . νικῶσι (G. 223). — ἀν (i. e. ἂν) οὖν, ἔχομεν ἀν: a subj. in the prot. (G. 223), with an opt. with ἀν in the apod. (G. 224), the latter belonging to an implied prot. in the opt., such as, if we should wish to escape (G. 227, 1; *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 a²). The οὐ in οὐδέ, *not even*, modifies ἔχομεν ἀν, the meaning being, even if there are (shall be) many bridges, we should not know, etc. Cf. for this meaning of οὐκ ἔχω, i. 7. 7, and note; and see also οὐχ ἔχουσι in § 20.

22. ὑποτέμψεαν, *had sent with a false message* (τηρό): the dir. form was ὑπέτεμψαν (G. 243). — ἐνθερ μέρ, ἐνθερ δέ, *on this side, on that*. — τολλῆς . . . ἐνότων, *since it was extensive and fertile, and since there were men in it to work it*.

Page 51. — εἰ τις βούλοιτο: might have been έάν τις βούληται (G. 248, n.).

23. ἐπὶ μέντοι . . . δυως, *yet they nevertheless, etc.*, i. e. notwithstanding that they now knew the man's statements were false. Cf. ii. 2. 17. — ἀπῆγγελλον, i. e. the next morning.

24. ἔγενυμένην: the Greek could say [εγγνύναι γέφυραν (G. 159), *to build* (lit. *join*) *a bridge*, or [εγγνύναι ποταμόν (or διώρυχα), *to bridge a river* (or

(channel); for the latter see § 13. — ὡς . . . πεφυλαγμένως, as guardedly as possible: supply ἦν with οἶόν τε (= δυνατόν). — τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἐλ.: cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, i. 1. 5, and note. — διαβανόντων (sc. αὐτῶν): we should expect the dat. after ἐπιθήσεοθαί, rather than the gen. absolute. In the same way διαβανόντων occurs in the next line, notwithstanding the following αὐτοῖς. — σκοπῶν: participle. — διαβαίνοντες: in the direct form διαβαίνονται (G. 243), to see whether they were crossing. — ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων, went riding off (G. 279, 4, N.); ὥχετο, lit. was off (G. 200, N. 3).

25. πλέθρου: cf. πλέθρων, i. 2. 23. — φέκτο: cf. οἰκουμένη, i. 4. 1. — ἢ δύομα? Ωπες: cf. i. 5. 4, and note. — πρὸς ἦν: why accusative? — ὡς βοηθήσων (G. 277, N. 2): ὡς shows only that the partic. gives the purpose which is professed by the subject (δ ἀδελφός). See note on ὡς ἀπιάν in § 8, and on ὡς πολεμήσοντες in ii. 3. 21. Cf. also i. 1. 11, and note.

26. εἰς δύο, two abreast (G. 191, III. 1c). They marched by in column. — δλλοτε . . . ἔφιστάμενος, halting now and then. — τὸ ήγούμενον (object): cf. ii. 2. 4, and note. — ἐπιστήσεις: why opt.? — ἐπιστήσων: force of the suffix σις? — ἔκπειλήχθαν: see note on i. 5. 13.

27. Κύρῳ ἐπεγγέλον, insulting Cyrus (G. 184, 2) besides (ἐπί), i. e. besides gratifying the Greeks. Cf. ἐπιλέγειν, i. 9. 26. — διαρπάσαι . . . ἐπέρρεψε: cf. i. 2. 19, and note. — πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων, i. e. except that the men in them were not to be made slaves.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: They arrive at the river Zapatas, and Clearchus sends a messenger to Tissaphernes and requests an interview (1, 2). When they meet, Clearchus expresses his hope that they shall be able to dispel the mutual distrust of the Greeks and barbarians (3, 4); mentions cases where great evil has been done through misunderstanding (5, 6); refers to their oaths and the vengeance of the Gods should they break them (7); details the facts which render it necessary for the Greeks to retain the friendship of the Persians (8–12), and the advantages to the barbarians of an alliance with his Greek army (13, 14); and finally he asks to know who has excited the suspicions against them (15). Tissaphernes assures Clearchus that the Greeks have no cause for distrust (16), showing how completely they are in the power of the Persians (17–19), and how unnecessary it would be for the latter to resort to perjury if they wished to destroy their former enemies (20, 21). He expresses great personal friendship for the Greeks, and hints at an especial service they may do for him (22, 23). Clearchus believes him sincere, and when he promises to disclose the names of those who have sought to create distrust between them, if Clearchus with the rest of the generals will come to him, the Greek general consents (24–26). The next day he returns to camp and states what has been agreed upon, and, though opposed by some of the soldiers, finally persuades five of the generals and twenty captains to accompany him (27–30). The generals are invited to enter the tent of Tissaphernes, and not long after they are seized and those without murdered (31, 32). Nicarchus alone escapes, and flees terribly wounded to the Greeks (33), who run to arms (34). Ariaeus with 300 Persians approaches the camp, and calls for some general or captain (35, 36). Cleanor, Sophænetus, and Xen-

ophon come forward (37). Ariæus tells them that Clearchus, having violated the truce, is dead, but that Proxenus and Menon are in great honor, and that the King demands their arms (38). In answer Cleanor reproaches him for his treachery, and Xenophon skilfully asks that Proxenus and Menon may be sent to the Greeks to advise them (39–41). The barbarians leave without making answer (42).

Page 52.—1. *ἴνωφται*, *feelings of distrust*. — **φανερά**, pred. to **έφανετο**, is specially opposed to *ἴνωφται*.

2. **Τίσσαθέρην**: cf. *τούτῳ* in i. 1. 9. — *εἰ δύνατο*, κ. τ. λ. (G. 248, 2), *in case he could in any way stop*, etc. The apod., suggested by *παῦσαι*, would be *ἴνα παύσεις* or the like. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2, for further details of this important construction. — *πρὶν γενέσθαι* (G. 274). — *ἔροντα* (G. 277, 3).

3. **Τίσσαθέρην**: a heteroclitic voc. (G. 60, 1 b). — **ἀδικήσαν**: cf. *μητοκακήσαν* in ii. 4. 1, and note. — **φυλαττόμενον ἡμᾶς**, *are on your guard against us* (G. 280). — **ὡς πολεμίους**, *as (you would be against) an enemy*.

4. **οὐ δύναμαι οὕτε**: we should expect *οὕτε δύναμαι* to correspond to **ἔγα τε οἶδα**. See note on *μῆτρε... τε* in ii. 2. 8. — *πειρώμενον* (G. 280). — **δητ... οὐδέν**, *that we on our part do not even think of any such thing* (G. 280, N. 3). — *εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν*, *to have an interview with you* (G. 186, N. 1, end). — *εἰ δυναμέθω* (G. 248, N.). Cf. § 2. — **ἀλλήλων** (G. 174).

5. **ἐκ**, *in consequence of*. — **οἱ... τροιόγρα**: we should expect **φοβηθεῖτας... βουλομένους... ποιήσαντας** (G. 280), but such an accumulation of participles would be harsh. — **φθάσαι**: sc. *ποιήσαντές τι* (G. 279, 4). — **μελλοντας**, *intending, transitively*. — **αὐτός**, i. e. *what is more*.

6. **ἀγνοοσύνας**, *misunderstandings* (G. 129, 7).

7. **πρῶτον... μέγιστον**, *for first and chiefly*. Cf. i. 3. 10. The correl. of **μέν** is **δε** in § 8. — **θεῶν** (G. 167, 3), *oaths (sworn) by the Gods*, as we say **δμνύναται θεός**. — **εἶναι** (G. 263, 1). — **τούτων**, i. e. **τῶν θεῶν δρκεν** (G. 171, 2). — **παρημεληκάς** (G. 280, N. 2): cf. **ἔψευσμένος**, i. 3. 10, and note. — **τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον**, *the Gods' war* (G. 167, 2). — **ἀπό**, *with, by the aid of*. — **φεύγον**, *flying*; but **ἀποφύγοι** **ἂν**, *could make his escape*. For **ἀποφύγοι** and **ἀποδράντι**, cf. i. 4. 8, and note.

Page 53.—**ὅπως... ἀποσταλή**, *how he could retire to a strong place*, i. e. to a place that would prove really **ἔχυρόν** against the Gods. For the three apod. with prot. implied, see G. 226, 2 d. — **πάντη πάντα**: cf. **πάντων τάντα** in i. 9. 2, and the **πανταχοῦ πάντων** following. — **θεοῖς** (G. 185; 184, 2). With this section compare *Psalm cxxxix*. 7–12.

8. **περὶ μὲν δῆ**: **μὲν** is repeated from **πρῶτον μέν** in § 7. — **περὶ οὓς** (i. e. **τοὺς θεοὺς**)... **κατεδέμεθα**, *in whose hands we have deposited the friendship which we have compacted*. — **τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων**, *but of human things* (G. 168). — **ἐν τῷ παρόντι**, *in the present crisis*.

9. **πᾶσα ὁδός**, *every road*; but following, **πᾶσα ή ὁδός**, *all the way*. — **αὐτῆς**: with *οὐδέν*. — **φοβερότατον** (G. 188, N. 2 c).

10. **ἄλλο τι** (sc. *ποιοῦμεν*) **ἂν ή**: **ἄλλο τι ή** or the simple **ἄλλο τι** is

equivalent in asking a question to οὐ or ἀρα οὐ, Lat. nonne (G. 282, 3). — εὖ-εργέτην, *bene-factor* (suff. τα-). — Εφέδρον, *a fresh opponent, a successor in the contest*, prop. of an odd combatant in the public games, who remained without an adversary when the others had been paired by lot, and *sat by* (ἐπι and ἔστα) ready to engage (of course at a great advantage) with any athlete who should beat his adversary. — ταῦτα repeats the indirect question.

11. τῶν τότε (G. 141, n. 3²). — δι βούλετο (G. 247; 233) might be δι ἀν βούληται. — ἔχοντα, σάγοντα, οὖσαν (G. 280). — ή . . . ἔχρητο, which Cyrus found hostile. — ταύτην: repeating τὴν . . . δύναμιν with emphasis.

12. τούτων . . . δυτων, *but since this is so*. — δυτις οὐ βούλεται: result (G. 237, n.). — ἀλλὰ μήν begins the sent. as if the parenthesis ἐώς . . . εἶναι were to be followed by a sentence like καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ὀφελεῖν δυνησόμεθα. (Krüger.) This is really said in other words in § 13 and § 14.

13. οὐς νομίζω ἀν παρασχεῖν, *whom I think I could render* (*παράσχομι ἀν*): cf. i. 3. 6. So παντας ἀν (G. 134, 3). — ἐν-οχλοῦντα, *disturbing*, lit. *crowding* (*δχλος*) υπον (G. 279, 1). — οἰς: with τεθυμωμένους, *incensed* (G. 184, 2). — κολάσσασθε: doubtful emendation for κολάσσεσθε, made on acc. of ἄν (G. 208, 2). — τῆς . . . οὐσης = ή τῇ . . . οὐσῃ.

14. ὁ μέγιστος (sc. φίλος), *the very greatest*: cf. note on δυτι ἀπαρασκεύαστον, i. 1. 6.

Page 54. — ἔχων ὑπέρετας = εἰ ἔχοις, κ. τ. λ.: additional protasis to both ἀν εἶναι and ἀν ἀναστρέψοι. — τῆς χάριτος: with ἔνεκα. — ήν ἀν ἔχοιμεν: χάριν ἔχω is exactly the Lat. gratiam habeo: cf. note on i. 4. 15.

15. οὗτον θαυμαστόν, *so surprising*. — τοῦνομα τίς: a mingling of two constructions, ήδιστ ἀν ἀκούσαμεν τίς, κ. τ. λ., and τοῦνομά τινος δοτίς, κ. τ. λ. Rehdantz, however, explains the words: *I would gladly hear by name, who is so skilled, etc.* — ἀπημεφθη, *replied*, a form found only here. It reminds us of ἀπαμειβόμενος and ἀμειβέτο in Homer.

16. Ἀλλά: cf. ii. 1. 4, and note. — ήδομαι ἀκούων: cf. ήσθη ιδών, i. 2.

18. — ἀκούων σου λόγους (G. 171, 2, n. 1). — γιγνάσκων, *since you know*. — μοι δοκεῖ must be transl. *impers.*, *it seems to me*, in order to bring in κακόνος ἀν εἶναι, *that you would be evil-minded*, in Eng. — ὡς ἀν μάθης (G. 216, n. 2).

17. εἰ έβούλομεν, *supposing it was our wish*, i. e. when we made the treaty (G. 221); to this the apod. is ἀπορεῖν (= ἀποροῦμεν) quoted after δοκούμεν. Cf. ἀπορεῖν ἀν in § 18, and note. — ἐν ή, *by means of which*. — ἀντιπάσχειν: with κίνδυνος (G. 261, 1); sc. εἰν ἀν.

18. ἀπιτθεσθαι: with ἀπιτθεσθων. — ἀπορεῖν ἀν (= ἀποροῦμεν ἀν): cf. note on § 16, and ἀπορεῖν in § 17, and note. — τοσαῦτα: with a gesture. — δύτα, *though they are*. — ὑμέν δύτα πορευτέα, *must be crossed by you*, quoted after δράτε (G. 280): direct form, ὑμέν πορευτέα δοτίν (G. 281, 1). Cf. with the active of this const., δρη πορευεσθαι, the note on δδόν in i. 2. 20. — ταμιεύεσθαι, *to parcel out*, like a steward (*ταμίας*), and so *to have by themselves, to deal with at once, etc.*; sc. τοσούτους, antec. of δπόστοις.

19. ἀλλά, *still*. — δι κατακαύσαντες (causal). — οὐδὲ εἰ, *not even if*: the οὐ goes with ἀν δύνασθε; the δε (even), with the conditional clause.

20. ἔχοντες: conditional (note in the next line μηδένα) = εἰ ἔχομεν. For εἰ ἔχομεν ἐξελθόμεθα ἀν, see G. 227, 1. — ἐπατα: cf. εἴτα in i. 2. 25, and note. — πῶς ἀν . . . ἀν ἐξελθόμεθα (G. 212, 2). — πρός (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a).

21. παντάπασι . . . ἔστι, but it is characteristic of (belongs to, G. 169, 1) those altogether without resources.

Page 55. — καὶ τούτων, and that too. — οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι: used as if ἀπορούσιν, κ. τ. λ. preceded; we should expect simply ἐθέλειν, to be willing. Cf. ii. 6. 6.

22. έψόν, when it was possible, acc. absolute (G. 278, 2). — οὐκ . . . ἥλθομεν, did we not proceed to do it? — ἴρως, earnest desire: sc. ἔστι. — τούτον refers to οὐκ . . . ἥλθομεν. — τὸ . . . ισχυρόν: the whole infin. clause stands as an object acc. after the verbal idea in ἴρως: trans. my desire that I may secure the confidence of the Greeks (cf. note on i. 7. 4, end), and with that mercenary force (G. 154) with which (G. 188, 5) C. made his expedition . . . with this (τούτῳ) I may return to the coast, etc. μισθοδοστας and εἰργεστας (see G. 129, 3) are accusatives.

23. δύσι: with χρήσιμοι (G. 160, 1). — ἔστι, are by anticipation, and so for ξεούσθε. — τὰ μὲν . . . εἰτας, some you also have mentioned. — τίταν: a steeple-shaped head-dress of distinguished Persians, worn upright (ὅρθην) only by the King; when worn by others, the point was bent forward. — τὴν δ' . . . ἔχοι (sc. ὅρθην): as it was the outward sign of royalty to wear the tiara upright on the head, so *wearing it upright in the heart* means *aspiring to royal dignity*, i. e. bearing the royal symbol in the heart, though not on the head. T. thus intimates his intention to revolt from the King by the aid of the Greeks, in order to blind Clearchus to his real plans.

24. εἰτε (i. e. Clearchus): repeated in ἔφη. — οὐκοῦν, therefore, in questions implies an affirm. answer, and is generally to be rendered by *not then*. — τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, when such grounds exist. — παθεῖν (G. 261, 1).

25. οἱ . . . λοχαγοί: in app. to the subj. of βούλεσθε. — ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ φανεῖ, i. e. so that it shall be apparent to both armies that we trust one another. Cf. ἐν τῷ φανερῷ in i. 3. 21.

26. σοί (accented) is emphatic. — αὖ, in turn. — δέον, from what quarter.

27. ἔκ, after, in consequence of, Germ. in Folge. Cf. i. 3. 11. — δῆλός τ' ἡν οἱόμενος: cf. i. 2. 11. — πάνυ φιλικῶς διακείσθαι, that he was on very friendly terms with. — ἐκδενούσε (subj. Τίσσο): sc. λέναι. — οἱ ἀν δεγχθεστοι: the verb might have been in what other mood? Could ἐκδενούσε have been so changed? See G. 247, with n. 2. — διαβάλλοντες (G. 280). — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: with οἱ. — οἱ . . . αὐτούς: cf. δν . . . αὐτόν in i. 9. 29: αὐτούς is added for emphasis.

28. αὐτῷ, i. e. Clearchus. — δπως . . . γ (G. 216, 2).

Page 56. — 29. ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, to be devoted. — τοὺς παραλυτούντας, troublesome rivals (note the prep.). — μη̄ λέναι, μηδὲ πιστεύειν (G. 260, 1): the underlying idea is that of a command, not that of a statement of fact.

30. ισχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, insisted strenuously. — Εστε διεπράγματο (G. 239, 1). — ὡς εἰς ἀγοράν, i. e. without arms.

32. ἀπό, *at*. — οἱ ἄνδρες, οἱ Έλληνες (G. 141, n. 3²). — φτινοὶ πάντας: cf. i. 1. 5, and note.

33. ἵπποισιν: force of the suff.? — ἡμερεγγόνου (G. 105, 1, n. 3). — εἰς τὴν γαστέρα: the accusative with reference to the motion of the weapon.

36. εἴ τις . . . λοχαγός, i. e. *whatever general or captain there was* (G. 248, 1), direct εἴ τις θετίν, suggests the subject of προσελθεῖν. — ἀπαγγείλωσι: why subjunctive?

37. τῶν Ἑλλήνων: depending on the proper names. — στρατηγοὶ μὲν, σὺν αὐτοῖς δέ: the first two are contrasted, as generals, with Xenophon. — Ξενοφῶν: cf. iii. 1. 4 sq. — τὰ περὶ, *the fate of*.

Page 37. — 38. ξυτησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, *got within hearing distance*. — ἐπιορκῶν, λύων (G. 280). — ξεινὴ τὴν δίκην, *has received his deserts*. — αὐτοῦ (G. 142, 4, n. 3). — ἀπαυτεῖ (G. 164). — ἑαντοῦ (G. 169, 1). — εἶναι: sc. τὰ δύλα. — δούλου: cf. i. 7. 3, and note.

39. Θεγέ θὲ Κλεάνωρ: cf. ii. 3. 21. — Ὄρχομένιος, *of Orchomenus*, a city of Boeotia, famous in the ancient legends of the Minya. — οἱ ἄλλοι: in app. to ὅμεις understood, *you others*. Cf. § 25. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: cf. ii. 3. 22, and note. — οἵτινες ἀπολωλέκατε, ἔρχοσθε: causal (G. 238). — ἡμῖν: with δύσταντες; cf. ols., below. — τοὺς αὐτούς (sc. ἡμῖν), *the same that we should*: the position of ἡμῖν expressed forbids its being taken with τοὺς αὐτούς. — φίλους καὶ ἔχθρούς (G. 137, n. 4). — νομεῖν (G. 110, II. n. 1 c) — τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς, *the rest of us*.

40. γάρ, (*we are not that*) *for*. — ἐπιβουλεύων: cf. i. 6. 8.

41. ἐπὶ τούτοις, *upon this*. — εἰ . . . θλε (G. 221). — Πρόξενος, Μένων: in emphatic position before ἐπείπερ: we should render, *but as to P. and M., since indeed they are*, etc. — εὐεργέται: force of the suffix?

CHAPTER VI.

Biographical Sketches of the Five Generals.

SYNOPSIS: Of the five generals, who after their seizure are taken to Babylon and beheaded, Clearchus was the most prominent; a man well qualified for war and fond of it (1). He fought during the Peloponnesian War against the Athenians, and at its close undertook an expedition to Thrace (2). When ordered to return by the Ephors, he disobeyed (3) and was condemned to death. Being now an exile, he went to Cyrus and received from him 10,000 darics (4), with which he collected an army and plundered the Thracians until summoned to Asia (5). Summary of the evidence that he was fond of war (6) and fitted for it (7). As evidence that he was fitted for command, notwithstanding his gloomy and harsh disposition, he was skilful in providing supplies for his army and an excellent disciplinarian (8–10). In time of danger his soldiers willingly obeyed him, but left him, when the peril was over, for a general of less harsh disposition (11, 12). No one was personally attached to him, but his troops were excellent soldiers (13, 14). He was about fifty years of age when he died (15). — Proxenus was ambitious from boyhood (16). He joined Cyrus, hoping to gain wealth, influence, and a great name (17), but was unwilling to acquire any of

these by unjust means (18). He was able to command well-disposed men, but could not inspire ordinary soldiers with fear or respect; he was thirty years old when he died (19, 20). — Menon was avaricious, stooping to perjury, falsehood, and deceit to gain his ends (21, 22). He respected and spared an enemy because he was dangerous, but ridiculed and plundered his friends (23, 24). He respected perjury and injustice, but looked upon the pious and truthful as fools (25). He took pride in deceit and ridicule of friends (26), and sought to be honored and courted by showing his power and willingness to do wrong (27). Even in extreme youth he was notoriously licentious (28). He was not put to death with the others, but died like a malefactor, after being tortured alive for a whole year (29). — Agias and Socrates were both courageous in war and faithful to their friends; and at the time of their death each was thirty-five years old (30).

1. μέν: cf. μέν in i. 10. 19, and note. — οὐτω, so, as above described. — τὰς κεφαλάς (G. 197, 1, N. 2, last ex.): the corresp. active constr. would be αὐτοῖς ἀποτέμνουσι τὰς κεφαλάς. — εἰς: in app. to (part of) στρατηγό. — μέν: correl. to δέ in § 16. — διολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, as was agreed by (cf. ἔτι in i. 1. 6) all. — αὐτοῦ (G. 182, 1; 180, 1). — δόξα γενέσθαι, i. e. who appeared to have been (lit. to have become or to have shown himself). — Cf. with this section i. 9. 1.

2. πόλεμος: the Peloponnesian War (431—404 B. C.).

Page 58. — τοὺς Ἑλλήνας: the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonesus. — διαπράξμενος παρὰ τῶν ἑφρών, having secured (his object) from the Ephors. — ὡς πολεμήσων: cf. i. 1. 11, and note.

3. μεταγνώντες πῶς, changing their mind for some reason. — ἄφοροι (over-seers), Ephors. — Ἰσθμοῦ: of Corinth. — ψῆφο πλέον: cf. ψῆφο ἀπλάνων in ii. 4. 24, and note.

4. ἰθανατόθη, was condemned to death (G. 130, 3): cf. Θάνατος, θνήσκει. — τελών, magistrates, the ἑφροί. — άλλη: no such arguments (λόγοι) are given in the *Anabasis*. Cf. i. 1. 9, and i. 3. 3, 4. — δαρεικούς: cf. note on i. 7. 18.

5. ῥᾳδυμίαν, a life of ease (ῥέμιος and θυμός). — ἀπὸ . . . χρημάτων: cf. i. 1. 9. — ἀπὸ τούτου, from this time on. — ἔφει καὶ ἤγε, plundered, or pillaged: φέω properly of objects that can be carried off, ἤγω of cattle; Lat. ferre et agere. — πολεμῶν διεγένετο, went on warring (G. 279, 1).

6. φιλο-πολέμου (G. 131, 1): cf. πολεμικός (W. 55, 1, 2, a) in § 7. — δοτίς αἱρεῖται: cf. οἵτινες ἰθελοντι in ii. 5. 21, and note. — ἔξον: cf. ii. 5. 22. — αἰσχύνη, βλάβη (see G. 129, 1). — αἱρεῖται, chooses. — ἀπό τοι μὲν, i. e. provided that he may be (laboring) in war (G. 266, 2). — εἰς πανδίκα, upon a favorite. — δαπανᾶν, to make outlays.

7. ταῦτῃ, herein, in these regards. — ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, by day or night (indifferently, G. 179, 1). — ἀγων: like the two adjectives, with ἡν, ready to lead. — πανταχοῦ πάντες: cf. ii. 5. 7, and note.

8. ὡς δυνατὸν . . . εἶχεν, so far as was possible with (i. e. for a man of) such a temper as he certainly (κατ) had. — ὡς . . . ἄλλος: cf. i. 3. 15, and note. — διπλες ἔχοι (G. 217, N. 1). — αὐτῷ (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ἐμποιήσου τοῖς παρούσιν, to inspire in those present (the feeling). — ὡς παστέον ἐη = ὡς δέοι αὐτοῖς πείθεσθαι, that they must obey (G. 243; 281, 2).

9. ἐκ τοῦ . . . εἶναι, *by being severe* (G. 262, 1; 138, n. 8). — δρᾶν (G. 261, 2) . . . δεις (G. 266, 2, n. 1). — έποθ' ὅτε, *sometimes*. Cf. ἐνίστη just preceding (G. 152, n. 2), and the note on ἡν . . . οὖς in i. 5. 7. — γνώμη, *on principle, systematically*: note καὶ before γνώμη. — ἀκολάστου, *undisciplined*. — στρατεύματος . . . δῆθελος: cf. i. 3. 11.

10. λέγει αὐτὸν ίφασαν: Xen. states the facts not on his own authority. Cf. i. 9. 23. — τὸν ἀρχοντα, *his commander*. — εἰ μὲνοι, *if he were either to, etc.* (G. 247): the form would be δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι . . . εἰ μὲνα, κ. τ. λ. — φυλακάς: why acc.? — ἀ-προφασίστως (*πρό-φασις*), *boldly, promptly*, lit. *without making excuses*.

11. τὸ στυγνόν, *the sternness, gloom* (G. 139, 2): cf. τὸ χαλεπόν and τὸ ἐπιχαρι, below. — φαύδρον: pred. to φαίνεσθαι. — ἐν τοῖς προσάποις (poetic plural): connect with τὸ στυγνόν. — ἔρρωμένον, *something strong or vigorous; like vigor*.

12. θέντοιντο (G. 238). — πρὸς δὲλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, i. e. *to go away into the service of another*. — διέκειντο, *were disposed*. The active is expressed by διατίθημι (i. 1. 5).

13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. i. 9. 8.

Page 59. — τεταγμένοι . . . κατεχόμενοι (sc. παρένται αὐτῷ). — σφόδρα . . . ἔργητο (G. 98, n. 2), *he found exceedingly obedient, i. e. these yielded him implicit obedience*.

15. οὐ μάλα θέλαν: as we say, *did not like very much*. — ἀμφὶ τά: cf. the note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

16. εὐθύς (G. 277, n. 1). — Γοργίς: the brilliant rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, who lived about 485–380 B. C. His fee (*ἀργύριον*) was 100 minae (about \$1,800).

17. ἐνεὶ συνεγένετο αὐτῷ, *after he had been his pupil*: συνεῖναι τινι often means *to be one's pupil or disciple*. — φίλος . . . πρώτοις, *while he was on friendly terms with those of highest rank*. — εὐεργετῶν: cf. ἀλεξόμενος in i. 9. 11. — φέτο κτήσεσθαι, *expected to get* (G. 246).

18. ἐνθυμῶν (G. 277, 5). — ἐνδηλον . . . εἶχεν, *he moreover made this also evident*. — τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ: cf. τὸ στυγνόν in § 11, and note. The principle of G. 139, 2, is illustrated often in this chapter. — μή: why do we have μή and not οὐ?

19. καλῶν κάγαθῶν: as we should say, “gentlemen.” See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. καλο-κάγαθός. — αἰδὼν ἑαυτοῦ, *respect for himself* (G. 167, 3). — στρατιώταις (G. 187, end; 184, 1). Cf. § 8. — στρατιώτας: cf. θεός in ii. 5. 39, and note. — φοβούμενος: what use of the part.? See G. 280, n. 1, and cf. δῆλος ἡν ἐπιθυμῶν in § 21, and στέργων φανερὸς ἡν and ἐνδηλος ἐγύνετο ἐπιθυμεών in § 23. See also i. 2. 11, and note.

20. πρὸς τὸ . . . δοκεῖν, *for being, and having the reputation of being, fit to govern* (G. 262, 1). This const. occurs several times below. ἀρχικόν modifies τινά understood, the subject of the infinitives. — ἐπαινεῖν (*bis*): subject of ἀρκεῖν (G. 259). — ἔτρον (G. 169, 3).

21. μέγιστον: adverbially with διναμένοις, *the most powerful*. — ἀδικῶν: cf. for the tense the note on i. 5. 11. So ἀδικοῦντα in § 20. — μὴ διδοῖη δίκην, *might not pay the penalty*: cf. ξει τὴν δίκην, ii. 5. 38.

Page 60. — 22. ὁν (G. 152). — τῷ ήλιθῳ (G. 186). Cf. note on § 18, above (at the end).

23. τούτῳ, taking up the relative clause, is to be connected in construction with ἐπιβουλεύων. — ἐνδῆλος ἔγίνετο: how different from ἐνδῆλος ἦν and ἐνδῆλος ἔγένετο! — οὐδενός (G. 177). — τῶν συνότων, his associates: connect with καταγελῶν; διελέγητο would require the dative (G. 186).

24. μόνος . . . δν, he thought that he alone (G. 138, n. 8) understood that it was (G. 280) easiest.

26. ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ: below, with ἡγάλλετο, we have the simple dative of cause), τῷ δύνασθαι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 262, 2). For the formation of the three nouns after ἐπὶ, expressing quality, see G. 129, 7. — ψευδῆ: from ψευδής, not ψεῦδος. — τῶν ἀπαδεύτων: partitive; cf. τῶν στρατευμένων, i. 2. 3, and note. — διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, by slandering those who were already first (in their friendship). — τούτους: takes up the relative clause.

27. τὸ . . . παρέχεσθαι (G. 199, 2): obj. of ἐμηχανάτο. An obj. clause with δπως would be more common (G. 217). — ἔκ: cf. § 9. — ἤξιον, expected. — ἀπιδεκίμενος (G. 277, 2). — δτι δύναιτο καὶ έθελοι δν: in direct form δύναμαι καὶ έθελοι μι δν. — εὑργεστὰν δὲ κατελεγεν, and he accounted it against (the person) an act of kindness (G. 129, 3).

28. τὰ δὴ ἀφανῆ ξεστη ψεύδεσθαι, i. e. there is room for false statements, it is true, about doubtful matters (G. 159). — τάδε, the following. — παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ: with ὃν; cf. for the facts stated i. 1. 10, and i. 2. 6, and note. — ξένων (G. 171, 3). — ήδετο, i. e. Ariacus.

29. οὐκ ἀπέθανε: to be connected with the genitive absol. above, which expresses time (G. 277, 1).

Page 61. — κεφαλᾶς: cf. § 1, and note. — γῶν . . . ἐνιαυτόν, after being tortured alive for a year.

30. Note the interchange of the dual and plural in this section (G. 33, 1). — καὶ τούτω: emphatic repetition of the subject in the form of a pronoun. — αὐτούς is irregularly inserted before ἐμέμφετο, as this verb cannot govern the gen. τούτων, which by its position would naturally be the object of both the clauses with οὔτε. — ἔτη ἀπὸ γενέας, years from birth, years of age.

BOOK THIRD.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE PERSIANS AFTER THE BREAKING OF THE TREATY. — MARCH FROM THE RIVER ZAPATAS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF THE CARDUCHI.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1). After the capture of their leaders the Greeks are greatly perplexed and disheartened (2, 3). There is, however, with the army a certain Xenophon, whom Proxenus had sent for,

promising to make him the friend of Cyrus; and who, after consulting with Socrates and inquiring of the oracle at Delphi (4–7), had repaired to Sardis (8). He was there invited by Cyrus to join him on a proposed incursion against the Pisidians (9), and continued to follow him even after the true object of the expedition was known (10). Xenophon now has a dream (11), which greatly terrifies him (12). On awakening he reviews the situation, and is impressed with the necessity of immediate action (13, 14). He calls together the captains of Proxenus, and shows them how little mercy they may expect if they fall into the power of the King (15–18). He declares that while the truce lasted he envied the King and pitied his companions (19), since their oaths bound them not to take anything unless they paid for it, which few of them were able to do (20). Now he proposes that they shall fight for what they need, with the Gods as judges of the combat, who certainly will favor them (21, 22); and urges the greater power of endurance and more resolute minds of the Greeks (23). He exhorts the captains to bravery, and offers to follow or lead as they shall choose (24, 25). All wish him to lead except Apollonides, whose discouraging remarks Xenophon interrupts, showing that their only chance for life is to present a bold front to the King (26–29). Apollonides is expelled from their number, and a meeting of all the generals and captains is called (30–32). When they are assembled, Xenophon is requested to present his opinions (33, 34). He reviews their relations to the King (35); and urges them to show their soldiers that they are courageous (36, 37), to choose new generals (38), and to assemble and encourage the troops, who are exceedingly dejected (39–41); for it is the courageous man alone in battle who is successful (42–44). Chirisophus follows (45), and proposes that they elect the officers at once (46). Xenophon takes the place of Proxenus (47).

1. “Οσα . . . δεδήλωται: see note on ii. 1. 1.—ἀπιόντων: temporal part. denoting time present to ἐγένερο (G. 277, 1; 204).—ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς, during the truce, belongs to ἐγένερο: see iv. 1. 1.

2. ἐπει is here causal, and takes the pluperfect: when it is temporal, it generally takes the aorist; cf. ἐπει ἐκείνητος in § 1, and see note on i. 1. 3. — ἐννοούμενοι μέν with the eight dependent clauses introduced by οἵτι is summed up in ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι (§ 3), and there is no corresponding clause with δέ. — ἐπι . . . θύραι, at the King's gates: they were now about 300 miles from Babylon. — ἡσαν (G. 243, n. 2). — κύκλῳ: like the English *a-round*. — παρέξειν ἔμελλεν (G. 118, 6; 202, 3, n.), was to furnish. — ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὸν, between (them and) the road home. — προύδεδάκεσσαν (G. 9, 2; 105, 1, n. 1). — οἱ . . . βάρβαροι (G. 276, 1): the Persians of Cyrus's army, 100,000 in number, under the command of Ariæus (cf. i. 7. 10). — μόνοι (pred. nom.), left alone. — νικῶντες, if they should be victorious (G. 226, 1), = εἰ νικήσεν. — ἡρτηθέντων (= νικηθέντων): conditional, = εἰ ἡρτηθέσεν. — αὐτῶν is partitive genitive after οἴδεις.

3. εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν, at evening (properly, on coming to the evening: i. 7. 1). — στότον (G. 171, 2). — τὰ δπλα, i. e. the place where their arms were stacked, a general term for their quarters. — νύκτα (G. 161). — ἀνεμαζόντος . . . ἔκαστος, they lay down where each chanced to be (sc. ὅν, G. 279, 4): observe the force of the imperfect. — πατρίδων, etc. objective genitives after πόθου (G. 167, 3). — γονέων (cf. G. 129, 2 a).

Page 62. — 4. Ξενόφων: “The inspiration now fell, happily for the army, on one in whom a full measure of soldierly strength and courage was combined with the education of an Athenian, a democrat, and a philosopher. It is in the true Homeric vein, and in something like Homeric language, that Xenophon describes his dream, or the intervention of Oneiros, sent by Zeus, from which this renovating impulse took its rise.” Grote. — μετέπειπατο, had sent for him. — οὐκούσθεν (G. 61): cf. οὐκοί, i. 1. 10, and οὐκασθε, l. 2. 2. — φίλος, guest-friend: see note on i. 1. 10. — εἰ θέσθι . . . ποιήσαν (G. 246; 247): the direct discourse would be ἐάν θέλησε, ποιήσει, and ἐάν θέλη might have been used here, like ἐπεδάν λήξῃ in § 9, below. — διν . . . πατρίδος, whom he (Proxenus) himself (G. 145, 1) said he considered of more account to himself than (he did) his country (Boeotia): the copula εἶναι is understood with κρέττον νομίζειν.

5. ἀνακουνόντα, consults (as a friend): cf. the act. ἀνακουεῖσθαι (below), to communicate with (i. e. τῷ θεῷ). — Σωκράτει: the philosopher, Xenophon's master and friend. — μὴ . . . εἴη, that it might be matter of accusation by the state (G. 218): the subject of εἴη is Κύρρῳ . . . γενέσθαι (G. 259): for τῷ, see G. 160, 2. — τοῖς Δακοῖς: dat. governed by σύν in συμπολεμῆσαι (G. 187). The Spartans were greatly aided by money furnished by Cyrus during the last four years of the Peloponnesian War (408–404 B. C.). See the prefatory note, page 2. — θεόντα, agreeing with αὐτόν understood (G. 138, n. 8 b).

6. ἐπήρετο: the aor. ἡρόμην (from ἡρόμαι) is common; but ἐρετάω is used in Attic Greek for the forms of the present stem. — τὸν εἰχόμενος, by sacrifice and prayer to which of the Gods: ἄν qualifies both θέσθαι and σωθεῖν (G. 212, 4). — ὅδόν, cognate acc. (G. 159). — καλῶς πράξας: like the English doing well. — ἀνέλεν: see ἀνατέλει. — θεοῖς: dat. for acc. by inverse attraction, a rare construction (G. 153, n. 4); or we may consider θεοῖς οἷς = οἷς θεοῖς, to what Gods.

7. τοῦτο: referring to the question πότερον . . . μένειν. — πότερον εἴη (G. 243). — Ιτέον εἶναι, that he was bound to go (G. 281, 2). — διπος ἀν . . . πορευθέντη: indirect question (G. 245): the direct form would be πώς ἀν πορευθέντη; how could I go?

8. οἷς: supply θύσασθαι; the antecedent, if expressed (G. 152), would be (ἐκείνοις) τοῖς θεοῖς (G. 153, n. 1). — μελλοντας (G. 138, n. 2 a). — ὅδόν (G. 159, n. 5). — συνεπάθθι, was introduced.

9. συμπροθυμεῖσθαι (imperf.), joined in urging. — ἐπεδάν τάχιστα (quam primum) . . . λήξῃ . . . ἀποπέμψει (G. 247). — ἀποπέμψει, would dismiss him (G. 243; 202, 4): the English idiom does not allow us to follow the Greek and say he said that he will dismiss him; so also we must translate ἐπεδάν λήξῃ as if it were ἐπεδῆ λήξειν, which would be more common after the past tense εἴπει.

10. ἐστρατεύεσθαι, went on the expedition. — οὗτος qualifies ξαπαγηθεῖς (G. 277, 2). — οὐχ, not, however.

Page 63. — φοβούμενος . . . καὶ δικούτες (sc. δύνεις), though fearing, etc. (G. 277, 5). — ἀλλήλων, Κύρου: obj. genitives after αἰσχύνη (G. 167, 3).

11. λαχόν (G. 170, 2, and N.). — οὗδεν: first personal, with subject στηριζός; afterwards understood as an impersonal with λάμπεσθαι, with the subject of which (οἰκλαν understood) τὰσταν agrees.

12. ἀνηρόθη, was roused, awoke. — τῇ . . . τῇ, *in some respects . . . in others.* — ὅτι . . . τὸ πῶς is causal, and μή οὐ δύνασθαι (G. 215, N. 1) depends on ἐφοβέσθαι. — βασιλέως: the dream was thought to come from King Zeus. — ἔργοντο was suggested by his being encircled *on all sides* (κύλω) by the fire in his dream.

13. δποιόν . . . ἔστι, *but what it amounts to.* — ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων, *from what happened.* — πράτον μέν: the correlative is ἐκ τούτου, § 15. — εἰκός, *it is likely.* — εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1). — ἔπι βασιλέως, *in the King's power.* — ἐπιδόντας, *having experienced (lived to see).* — τί ἐμποδέν μή οὐχὶ . . . ἀποθανεῖν; (G. 263, 1, N.; 283, 7).

14. δπως ἀμυνούμεθα, *that we may defend ourselves* (G. 217). — ἀστερ
ἔξον, *as if it were possible* (G. 278, 2). — τρυχαίς (cf. G. 129, 7). — ἦγὼ . . . πράξαν, *from what state then am I expecting the general to come who is to do this?* τὸν . . . στρατηγόν = (lit.) *the general from what state.* Xenophon's reflection was somewhat as follows: *my own state (Athens) must supply the man; and if I am not old enough now to undertake the work, I never shall be.*

15. ἐκ τούτου, *upon this:* we should expect ἐκ δὲ τούτου (see § 13); but cf. the note on οὐδεῖς μέν, i. 2. 4. — ἐν οὖσι, *in what straits* (G. 139).

16. δῆλον δτι = *evidently* (parenthetical). — οὐ πρότερον . . . πρίν, *not until* (G. 240); cf. μή πρόσθεν . . . πρίν in i. 2. 2, and note.

Page 64. — ἐξέφραναν (see ἐκφάνω), *opened war upon us.* — παρεσκευάσθαι, *had been got ready* (G. 246).

17. ἴψησθαι, *yield ourselves.* — οἷς: causal relative (G. 238), *since he.* — ὁμο-μητρίου, ὁμο-πατρίου (G. 129, 12; cf. 132, 3). — καὶ . . . ήδη, *even when already dead.* — ήδης: subject of παθεῖν. — κηδεμὸν οὐδεῖς, *no protector,* to intercede for us (as Cyrus had his mother). — The subj. of ἐστρατεύσαμεν is οἱ, understood from the preceding οἴς (G. 156, N.). — ὡς . . . ποιήσοντες, *intending to make him a subject (lit. slave) instead of king.* — ἃν qualifies παθεῖν (G. 211).

18. ἀρ' οὐδε... θέοι, *would he not make every effort?* — τὰ ισχατα: cognate accusative (G. 159, N. 4). — αἰκιστάμενος: implying both *ignominy* and *torture.* — τοῦ στρατευτᾶς (G. 262, 2): objective genitive after φόβον. — δπως . . . γενησόμεθα (G. 217).

19. ξετι μέν: see ἔτει μέντοι, § 21. — οἰκτείρων, μακαρίων (G. 279, 1). — αὐτῶν depends on the four following indirect questions (*ὅτην . . . δτα δέ*) as if they were nouns: we might have had ταῦτα αὐτῶν after διαθέμενος (cf. τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν in § 20). — ισθῆτα, *clothing, in general.*

20. δπότε ἐνθυμούμην (G. 233). — τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν is explained by δτι . . . κατέχοντας ήδης, and all that precedes in the section is summed up in ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. But ήδης, with ξηστα and κατέχοντας (G. 280), breaks off from the construction begun in δτι τῶν μέν, forming an independent sentence by *anacoluthon* (ἀνακολουθία). — οὐδενὸς ήδης (G. 184, 2, N. 1)

μετέι εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα: in direct discourse, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μέτεστιν τὰ μὴ πριάμεθα (G. 225; 247). — οὗτον δὲ ὀνησόμεθα, wherewith to buy (G. 178); the antecedent (*ἀργύριον* understood) follows ξένος, *I knew that few had*, etc. — ἀλλως . . . ὀνουμένους, to get supplies in any other way than by purchase, following κατέχοντας.

21. ἡ ὑποψία, i. e. our present suspicion, with the constant anxiety attending it. — ἐν μέσῳ κένται . . . δῆλα, they (τὰ ἀγαθά) lie open to competition as prizes (as in the games): cf. ἐς μέσον τιθέναι (in medio ponere), to offer as a prize, and ἐν μέσῳ (in another sense) in § 2. Demosthenes calls certain exposed towns δῆλα τοῦ πολέμου κέντεντα ἐν μέσῳ. — ὅπότερος ἡμῶν, (for) whichever of us (Greeks or Persians), the antecedent being omitted.— ὁστιν (G. 232, 3). — ἀγωνοθέται (G. 131, 1; 132, 1; 129, 2 b), judges (in the games), keeping up the figure begun with ἐν μέσῳ.

22. αὐτούς, i. e. the Gods, whom the Persians have mocked by perjury (*ἐπιωρκήσασιν*), G. 158, N. 2. — θεῶν: object. gen. after δρκούς. — πολὺ (in emphatic position) belongs to μεῖζον. — τούτοις: in same construction as ἡμῖν understood after ἔτενται.

Page 65. — 23. ἵκανότερα τούτων . . . φέρεν, more capable than theirs (lit. than they) of bearing (G. 261, 1). — ψύχη, ψυχάς (G. 129, 4, and 129, 1). — σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, by the Gods' help. — οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, i. e. the enemy. — ἣν διδώσουν (G. 223), if the Gods grant us, etc. The future apodosis is implied in τρωτοί, etc., more liable to be wounded and killed, i. e. in consequence of the superior armor of the Greeks.

24. δᾶλλοι τοις γάρ . . . ἀναμένωμεν (G. 253), but let us not wait, for perhaps others too, etc. — παρακαλοῦντας: fut. (G. 110, II. N. 1 a). — τοῦ ἕρμησα: gen. after δρξώμεν (G. 171; 262, 2).

25. ἥλικίαν: Xenophon appears to speak as a youth, and this passage favors the later date (about 430 B. C.) assigned for his birth; but most authorities place this at about 440 or even 444 B. C. — ἀκμάζειν, that I am at the height of my ability; ἔργειν depends on the idea of ability here contained, although we may connect it with the infin. of purpose (so Krüger).

26. Ἀτολλωνίθης (G. 129, 9 c). — βοωτιάσον τῇ φωνῇ, with a Boeotian accent. — οἵτι . . . λέγοι (= φλυαρεῖ οἵτις λέγει, G. 247): οἵτις λέγοι, who said; not who should say. — σωτηρίας ἀν τυχεῖν, that he could find safety (G. 171, 1): τυχεῖν ἀν = τύχοιμι ἀν, I should find (if I should try). — ἀλλως . . . ή πεῖται, otherwise than by persuading.

27. μεταξὺ ὑπολαβόν, interrupting him in the midst (of his talk). — ἐν ταύτῃ τούτοις, in the same place with these (G. 186). — ἐπειδὲ . . . ἀπέθανε, i. e. after Cyrus was killed (ἐπειδὲ = postquam): cf. οὔτε ἐκέλευε, (simply) when he commanded. See notes on i. 1. 2 and 3.

28. αὐτῷ (G. 187). — τι οὐκ ἐποίησε (see § 18), what did he leave undone?

29. αὐτοῖς (G. 186, N. 1). — οὐν τῦν . . . οὐδὲ . . . δύνανται; (the οὐν is interrogative) are they not unable, wretched men! even to die? (G. 282, 2; 283, 8, N.). — τούτου, i. e. τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.

Page 66. — πείθειν πάλιν λόντας (sc. ἡμᾶς), that we should go and try persuasion again. We may, however, take πάλιν with κελεύει. (See Grote, IX., Chap. 70, p. 107.)

30. ἐμοὶ . . . δοκεῖ, *I think it best*: for the infin. see G. 202. See note on i. 3. 11. — ἀφελομένους (sc. τῆμᾶς) . . . χρήσθαι: *to deprive him of his command, lay packs upon him, and treat him as such* (i. e. as a pack-bearer).

31. τούτῳ . . . Βούριας (G. 184, 2, n. 1). — ὡσπερ Δυδόν: the Greeks considered it effeminate for men to wear ear-rings (see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. *inauris*); bored ears, therefore, marked a man as a barbarian. The Lydians were proverbially effeminate. Cf. note on An 1. 5. 6. — ἀμφότερα . . . τετρυπημένον, *with both his ears bored*; ἄτα, etc. presupposes an active construction *τρυπάν τὰ ἄτα αὐτῷ, to bore his ears for him* (G. 197, 1, n. 2).

32. δύον . . . εἴη . . . οἰχοίτο . . . εἴη (G. 233). — ὅπότεν οἰχοίτο, i. e. *from whatever division the general had been lost* (G. 200, n. 3). — δύον δ' αἱ λοχαγὸς σῶν εἴη implies that the two higher officers were lost.

33. εἰς . . . διπλῶν, *at the front of the encampment* (§ 3; G. 191, n. 6). — ἔγενοντο, *amounted to* (in number), not *were*. — μέσαι νύκτες, *midnight*: cf. i. 7. 1, and note.

34. αὐτοῖς is intensive (G. 145, 1), referring to τῆμῖν: *it seemed best to us, when we saw, . . . ourselves to meet, etc.* — εἰ δυναμέθα (G. 248, n.). — πρὸς τῆμᾶς (sc. θεέας).

35. τάδε (G. 148, n. 1). — τῆμῶν: partitive after οὓς. — δῆλον δτι: see § 16. — τῆμῖν δέ: correlated in form to ταῦτα μέν, but in sense to βασιλεὺς καὶ Τυπσαφέρνης. — τῆμῖν . . . ποιητέα (G. 188, 4; 281, 1).

36. μέγιστον καρόν, *the greatest opportunity*.

Page 67. — αὐτοὶ τε, *both on your own part* (G. 145, 1), opposed to τοὺς δόλλους, below. — παρασκευαζόμενοι, *preparing (not prepared)*, with φανεροὶ δῆτε (G. 280, n. 1).

37. τι, *somewhat, considerably* (G. 160, 2). — τούτων (G. 175, 2). — χρήμασι, *pay*. — ἀξιούν δεῖ ύμᾶς αὐτούς, *we have a right to expect that you, etc.*

38. δνήσαι δν (= δνήσατε δν, G. 211). — δπως . . . ἀντικατασταθώσιν (G. 217, n. 1; 201, n. 2). — ὡς . . . εἰπεῖν, *to speak briefly* (G. 184, 5; 268). — παντάπασιν (sc. οιδὲν δν . . . γένοιτο), i. e. it is *absolutely true* in military matters; the force lies in the implication that this expression is stronger than the sweeping statement in οὐδαμοῦ (G. 283, 9).

39. ποιήσαι δν (= ποιήσατε δν: see § 38): we should have expected ποιήσειν (= ποιήσετε), to correspond with the two subjunctives which precede (G. 227, 1). — πάνυ δν καιρῷ, *quite seasonably*.

40. ὡς ἀθύμως, *how without spirit*. — οὕτω γ' ἔχόντων, *at least while they are so (ἀθύμως)*: gen. abs. with αὐτῶν understood. — δ τι, *for what service* (G. 188, 1, n. 2). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

42. ή . . . ποιοῦσα, *which causes, etc.*, takes the gender of ισχύς, where τὸ . . . ποιοῦν might have been used. — ὀπότεροι δν . . . ιωσιν (G. 233). — ἔρρωμενότεροι (compar. of the perf. part. pass. of ράννυμι), *more vigorous*. — τούτους refers with emphasis to the omitted antecedent of ὀπότεροι: *such men their foes do not abide*. — ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, *generally (for the most part)*.

Page 68. — 43. ἐπι παντὸς τρόπου, *any way they can, at any rate*. — οὗτοι μέν . . . τούτους: see note on τούτους, § 42. — ἀφικούμενος (G. 280). — διάγοντας, *passing their life*. — έως δν ζῶσιν (G. 233).

44. αὐτούς, *ourselves* (emphatic). — παρακαλεῖν : sc. ἀγαθὸς εἶναι.

45. Χειρί-σοφος (G. 131, 1, N.). — τοσοῦτον . . . δυον, *I knew only so much of you, as that, etc.* — ἐφ' οἷς (G. 153, N. 1). — βουλούμην δν (G. 226, 2b). — δητὶ πλειότοτος (like the Latin *quam plurimos*), *as many as possible*. See note on i. 1. 6.

46. αἰρεσθέ, etc.: imperat. — οἱ δέομνοι, *you who need them*.

47. ἄμα εἰπάν (G. 277, N. 1). — τὰ δέοντα, *the needful business*, subj. of the passives μέλλοντο and περιβάντο. — Δαρδανεῖς, *of Dardanus in Troas*.

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: The soldiers are called together, and first addressed by Chirisophus (1), who admits that the situation is critical (2), but exhorts them to face the enemy with courage (3). Cleanor follows, and calls to mind the perjury and impiety of the King, and the faithlessness of Tissaphernes and Ariaeus (4, 5), upon whom he invokes the vengeance of the Gods (6). Next Xenophon stands up, splendidly accoutred for war (7), and says that now the Greeks may hope, with the aid of the Gods, to get back home again in safety (8). While he is speaking, some one sneezes; and the army, regarding this a good omen, vow to offer sacrifices to Zeus in the first friendly country they shall reach (9). Xenophon then proceeds, giving the reasons why they may hope for a safe return: the Gods are on their side (10); their ancestors once defeated the Persians at Marathon (11, 12), and again at Salamis (13); and they themselves have lately proved themselves not unworthy descendants of such progenitors (14). The struggle was then, he says, for Cyrus; now it is for themselves (15); and now they know that the enemy are at heart cowards (16): even more cowardly still are their former barbarian allies (17). The enemy's cavalry, moreover, are, after all, only so many men (18, 19). Better guides may be seized than the treacherous Tissaphernes (20); opportunities found for seizing provisions (21); and even impassable rivers crossed, at least at their sources (22). But even if obliged to remain, they need not despair, for various nations have already occupied the King's country against his will (23). The speaker is half inclined (he says) to advise them to pretend that they want to remain (24). On the whole, however, their proper course is to go back to Greece and advise their poor relations and friends to come to Persia and get rich by plundering (25, 26). They should, therefore, burn their wagons, and rid themselves of all other unnecessary baggage (27, 28); and, remembering how the enemy hoped to destroy them by seizing their generals (29), be more vigilant and obedient than before (30), and ready to punish any offender against discipline (31). Whatever they see fit to do should be done at once (32). Chirisophus puts Xenophon's proposals to vote, and they are adopted (33). Xenophon, again rising, suggests that they march, in the form of a square, for provisions to certain villages near at hand, with Chirisophus as leader (34–37). The proposals are approved, and he again exhorts them to valor (38, 39).

1. ὥρηντο: the plup. with ἐτεῖ or ἐτεῖδη is more emphatic than the more common aorist (for which see notes on i. 1. 2 and 3). — ὥρηφαντε, *was barely glimmering*: a common force of ὥρω in comp. is *slightly* (G. 191, VI. 7, end). — πρέτον μέν answers to ἐτι τούτῃ, § 4.

Page 69.—2. οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, *Ariæus and his men* (G. 141, N. 3).

3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, *from these straits*. See τὰ παρόντα in § 2.—ἀνδρας . . . τελέθειν (sc. ἥμας), *we must come out brave men*: τελέθειν is a poetic word = γίγνεσθαι. — ὅπεις σωζόμεθα (G. 217, N. 1). — εἰ δὲ μή, *otherwise*: see note on ii. 2. 1. — ἀλλά γε, *yet at least*. — ἀποθηκούμεν and γενώμεθα depend on ὅπεις, like σωζόμεθα. — ὑποχειροι (G. 132, 1). — τοιαῦτα οὐα . . . ποιήσειν (G. 251, 1), *such things as I pray that the Gods may do to our enemies* (G. 165).

4. ἐπορκιαὶ, δοξεῖαι, ἀποστίαι (see G. 129, 7). — δοττις λέγων, i. e. (a man) who, while he said, etc. The speech of Tissaphernes is in ii. 3. 18. — εἴη (G. 243). — περὶ . . . ἀν ποιήσαιτο, *would hold it of the utmost consequence* (G. 245). — ἐπὶ τούτους, *upon all this* (in confirmation of it). — αὐτός: repeated with tragic emphasis: notice also the *asyndeton*. — Διὰ ξένιον: Ζεὺς as the God of hospitality and the protector of its rights. — αὐτοῖς τούτοις, *by that very means*, i. e. being on intimate terms (διμοτράπεζος) with Clearchus.

5. ὅν . . . ὑλέρομεν (G. 156, N.). — προδάσσειν: cf. παρέβειν in ii. 3. 26, and note. — καὶ οὕτος, *even he too*. — ἥμας κακός ποιεῖν (G. 165, N. 1).

6. ἀποτίσαντο, *requite* (G. 251, 1): ἀπό- implies the rendering what is due. — ἕτη, *any longer*. — ὡς ἀν δυνάμεθα κράτιστα, *as vigorously as we shall be able*: by an ellipsis of δύναμαι we have the common expression ὡς κράτιστα, etc., *as vigorously as possible*, etc. — δυνάμεθα, δοκῇ (G. 232, 3).

7. καταλάμπεις, *equipped*. — κόσμον, *ornament*, refers to his dress. — τὸν καλλίστον ἔστηδε ἀξιώσαντα, *since he had thought himself worthy of (i. e. to wear) the most beautiful equipment*. — ἐν τούτοις, i. e. τοῖς καλλίστοις. — τελευτῆς (G. 171, 1).

Page 70.—8. αὐτοῖς διὰ φίλας λέναι, *to enter into friendship with them*, like διὰ δίκης ὑλέειν τιν, *to go to law with one*, and below, διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς λέναι, *to go to war with them in every way* (G. 186, N. 1). — δρῶντας . . . πεπόνθασιν, *seeing the generals, what they had suffered*, i. e. *seeing what the generals, etc.* Cf. note on i. 1. 5. — ὅν (G. 153, N. 1): its antecedent would be gen. after δίκην (G. 167, 3), *punishment for what they have done*: the antecedent in such cases is (as in the English *what*) implied in the relative. — τὸ λοιπόν, *adverbial, for the future* (G. 160, 2; 161).

9. τὸν θεόν, i. e. Διὰ Σωτῆρα (see below). — περὶ σωτηρίας λεγόντων: the sneeze, which was thought to be an omen sent by Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, came just when they were talking of safety. — οἰνός, *omen*: so sneezing is still regarded by the vulgar in some countries. — εἴβασθαι, *to vow*, depending on δοκεῖ (G. 202); see note on iii. 1. 30, above. — θύσει σωτηρία (G. 159), *to make sacrifices in thanks for safety*. — ὅπου ἀν . . . ἀφικάμεθα (G. 232, 3). — ἀνατανάτῳ: an appeal to the citizen-soldiers: in the Athenian Assembly elections were made (after nomination) by hand-vote (*χειροτονία*).

10. ἐμπεδούμεν (ἐμπέδος, from ἐν and πέδον), *we stand by*. — οὗτοι δ' ἔχόντων (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων), *quae cum ita sint*. — καν . . . ἀστι (G. 225).

11. ξένετο δέ corresponds to πρῶτον μέν in § 10; but after the construction is interrupted by ἀναμνήσω γάρ . . . ἀγαθοῖ, it is resumed in ἔλθόντων

μὲν γάρ without reference to Έπατα. — ἀναμνήσω here takes two accusatives, with the verbs included in G. 164; for a different construction, see G. 171, 2, n. 3.— ἀγαθοῖς (G. 138, n. 8).— ὡς ἀφαιλόντων, to blot Athens again out of existence (G. 277, 3, and n. 2): αὖθις, again, i. e. as she was ἀφανεῖται before she was built. — ἐνίκησαν: i. e. at Marathon (490 B. C.).

Page 71. — 12. εἰδόμενοι: nom. as if a personal verb meaning *they resolved* were to follow, in place of οἴδειν αὐτοῖς. — διόστους κατακάνωμεν representing διόστους ἀν κατακάνωμεν of the direct form (G. 247).— χιμάρα pas: trace the origin of the English word *Chimera*. — ἀριθμώνται: they are still (after ninety years) fulfilling that sacrifice. According to Herodotus, the number of Persians slain at Marathon was 6,400 (see *Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 153, § 23); the Athenians prayed Artemis for permission to substitute for a single sacrifice of this large amount of goats an annual one of five hundred. The essay on the *Magnitude of Herodotus*, included in Plutarch's *Morals*, Ch. XXVI., describes this sacrifice as still kept up about five centuries after Xenophon's time.

13. Έπατα corresponds to Ἀθέντων μὲν in § 11.— ἀναριθμητον: Herodotus (vii. 185) makes the whole number of the fighting men (μάχων) in Xerxes's army 2,641,610; and he estimates the number of camp-followers as even greater than this. (See *Selections*, p. 163, § 23.) — καὶ τότε, then too (as well as at Marathon), referring to the victories at Salamis (480 B. C.), and at Plataea and Mycale (479 B. C., on the same day). — ξοτι . . . δρᾶν, we may see (G. 259). — τεκμήρια (G. 137, n. 4). — ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεούς, but (only) the Gods. — προγόνων (G. 169, 1).

14. ἀφ' οὗ, since. — ἑκένων, i. e. the Persians of Xerxes's army. — ὑμῶν αὐτῶν (G. 175, n. 1): gen. after πολλαπλασίους (see note on i. 7. 3).

15. πολύ belongs to ἀμείνονας and προθυμοτέρους. See iii. 1. 22.

16. αὐτῶν: obj. gen. after ἀπειροι (G. 180, n. 1). — ἀμείρον: sc. δν (G. 280). — πατρῷ (G. 129, 12): cf. πατρών, iii. 1. 11. — εἰς, against (*into*), stronger than the more common ἐπί. — δτι θλούσον depends on the idea of *knowing* implied in πείραν ἔχετε. — καὶ . . . δντες (G. 277, 5, and n. 1 δ). — δέχεσθαι, i. e. to abide our attack. — ὑμῖν προσήκει: we might have had ὑμᾶς as the subject of the infinitive, as in § 15.

17. μηδὲ . . . εἰ, nor suppose that you are the worse for this, that, etc. (G. 254). — οἱ Κύρεοι: the barbarian troops of Cyrus. — ἑκένων refers to τῶν ἡττημένων. running to them for refuge implied (Xen. means) that the refugees were the greater cowards. — ταπτομένους (G. 280).

18. ἕπιν (G. 184, 4). — ἐνθυμήθητε: plural, as if ὑμεῖς had preceded in place of ὕπων τις.

Page 72. — οἱ μύριοι ἵππεις: the article here implies that the number is a familiar one; “so in English, your ten thousand horse” (Crosby). — δ τι ἀν γίγνηται (G. 233).

19. ἵππεις: gen. of compar. after πολὺ ἀσφαλεστέρου. — βεβηκότες, on our feet. — δτου ἀν βουλόμεθα (G. 232, 3). — τευξόμεθα (see τυγχάνω), shall hit. — ἐν, in one thing (G. 188, 2). — ὑμᾶς: προέχειν usually takes the genitive (G. 175, 2); here the accusative.

20. εἰ belongs to both clauses, τὰς μὲν . . . θαρρεῖτε, and διὰ δὲ . . . διχθεσθε — μάχας (G. 158, N. 2). — διὰ . . . παρέβαι: summed up in τοῦτο, which follows. — φανερός, evidently (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — οὐδὲ . . . δύνδρας for τοὺς δύνδρας οὓς (G. 154). — οὐδὲ δὲ . . . λαβόντες . . . κελεύωμεν (G. 232, 3), i. e. *any whom we may find (on the way) and order to act as guides.* — τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα, *their own lives and bodies:* the meaning is that such guides will fear death or a beating enough to make them faithful: with nouns of different genders the article is usually repeated.

21. πότερον κρείττον (sc. ἔστι) is part of the indirect question depending on σκέψασθε in § 20. — ής (G. 153). — ἀργυρίου (G. 178). — μηδὲ . . . ἔχοντας, *when we no longer have even this* (i. e. ἀργυρίου), i. e. being now without pay. — αὐτούς (sc. ήμάς), *ourselves* (G. 145, 1, N.).

22. Εἰ δέ introduces three verbs. — ἀπορον (G. 138, N. 2 c). — μεγάλως . . . διαβάντες, *suppose yourselves to have been greatly deceived by having crossed them* (G. 203; 277, 2), as when they crossed the Tigris (ii. 4. 24). — σκέψασθε δέ, *we should say, whether they have not, etc.* — τούτῳ καὶ μερότατον (sc. δν): see G. 142, 3, end. — πηγῶν (G. 182, 2). — ήν . . . ὥστι (G. 225). — προιόντο, *to those advancing* (sc. ποι). — οὐδέ, *not even.*

23. διήσουσαν (see διῆμι), *let us pass* (G. 223, N. 1). — οὐδές δέ (ώς = οὔτες), *not even then* (lit. so, under these circumstances). — ἀθυμητέον (G. 281, 2). — Μυσοίς, *the Mysians*, of N. W. Asia Minor, rebellious subjects of the King, and only half subdued. The Pisidians and Lycaonians (mentioned below) inhabited the rugged southerly part of Asia Minor. — οὐδὲ δὲ φαίνεται (G. 226, 2). — βασιλέως ἄποντος: gen. abs. (sc. δντος).

Page 73. — τούτων: meaning the Persians, whose king has just been spoken of. — καρπούνται (middle voice), *reap for themselves:* the nouns which would naturally be the subjects of this verb are attracted into the preceding clauses, and made the objects of ἐπιστάμενα and εἰδομεν (see note on § 8, above).

24. καὶ ήμᾶς: emphatic. — δὲ ἔφην, *I might say (unless, etc., see next section: G. 226, 2). — ὁρμημένους* (after φανερούς: G. 280, N. 1), i. e. *we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home.* — οὐδὲ . . . οἰκήσοντας, *as if we intended to settle hereabouts*, i. e. declaring by our acts that this is our purpose (G. 277, N. 2). — Μυσοίς . . . δὲ δοῖη, i. e. if they would take them (G. 226, 2). — δὲ before δημήρους belongs to δοῖη understood (G. 212, 3). — δημήρους (δημός and *ἀρω), *hostages*, i. e. *binding (two parties) together.* — τοῦ . . . ἐπέμψειν: gen. depending on δημήρους (G. 262, 2), *hostages for his sending;* the fut. infin. in all constructions with the article is exceptional (G. 202, 3), the present or aorist being far more common. (See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2). — δὲ . . . ἐτρόλει, *he would be thrice-glad to do this* (G. 222). — μένεν παρασκευαζομένους, *preparing (not prepared) to remain.*

25. ἀλλὰ γάρ, *but* (I do not say this, ἔφην δὲ in § 24) *for, etc.* — ἀργοί (G. 138, N. 8). — ξενί (G. 123, N. 2). — καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις, *fair and tall*, the Greek notion of female beauty. — γυναιξί (G. 186). — μή before ὥσπερ is a repetition of μή after δεσμοκα. — λατοφάγοι, *lotus-eaters*, see *Odyss.* IX.,

94 sqq.: having tasted of this sweet tropical plant, the companions of Ulysses lost all care for home.

26. *ἴσχον, since it is in their power* (G. 278, 2), gives the cause of ἐκόντες πένονται. — τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας, *those who now live poor at home*: object of δρᾶν. — κομισαμένους (referring to the Greeks), if they shall bring them hither (G. 226, 1): it might have followed the case of αἴτρους (G. 138, n. 8 b). — πλουσίους: sc. δυτας (G. 280). — δῆλον δὲ: see note on iii. 1. 16. — τῶν κρατούντων (G. 169, 1).

27. τῶς δὲ belongs to both πορεύομέθα and μαχομέθα, and τῶς, by what course (if followed), implies the protasis (G. 226, 1). — ἡμῶν follows στρατηγῷ (G. 171, 3), that our campaign may not be directed by the cattle. — δῆπε ἀν . . . συνφέρῃ (G. 232, 3). — συγκατακοῦσαι: sc. δοκεῖ. — δχλοι . . . ἄγειν (G. 261, 2, n.). — εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, etc. (G. 262, 1).

28. ἀπαλλάξωμεν, let us abandon (G. 253). — κρατουμένων (sc. τινῶν): gen. of possess. after πάντα. — ἀλλότρια, forfeit, or lost (lit. another's).

Page 74. — νομίζαν, consider as, followed by two accus. (G. 166).

29. Δαιτόν (λεπτώ), it remains (sc. τοτίν). — οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρίν, not . . . until (G. 240). — δύτεν . . . ἀρχόντων, i. e. while we had our officers. — ἀπολέσθαι δέν, that we should be ruined (= ἀπολόγμεθα δέν: G. 211).

30. τοὺς νῦν (G. 142, 2). — τῶν πρόσθεν (G. 175, 1), than those we had before. Notice the emphatic position of τοὺς νῦν.

31. ἢν . . . ἢν, in case . . . if (the latter should be translated first). — τὸν δέν ἐντυχάνοντα (subj. of κολάζειν), whoever of you may be at hand at the time. — θευσμένοις, disappointed. — τοὺς . . . εἶναι, men who will suffer no man to be a coward. — κακῷ (G. 136, n. 3 a).

32. περινεν ὥρα (G. 261, 1), time for action. — βελτιον δή ταῦτη, better than (that things should be) as I propose. — διδιάτης, the private.

34. προσθέν, is needed besides. — δέν, (to a place) where.

Page 75. — 35. εἰ καὶ αὐτόλ, if they themselves likewise (καὶ), resumes the construction begun by εἰ οἱ πολέμοι and broken by the parenthesis. — ἡμῖν (G. 186 or 187).

36. πλαίσιον, a hollow square or rectangle with a front (τὰ πρόσθεν), two sides or flanks (πλευραί), and a rear (τὰ διπλούς): within this the baggage and the camp-followers (δχλος) were to be placed. — δέλτων, i. e. the διπλῖται, or heavy infantry. — εἰ . . . πλαίσιον, if then it should be settled at once who is to lead the square: ἀποδείκνυμ, to show forth or manifest, hence to appoint. — δηπότε δέλθοιεν (G. 232, 4). — χρόμεθ' δέν . . . τετομένοις, i. e. we should have them at once in their places ready for action.

37. ἔγοεν and the two following optatives express an exhortation in the form of a wish (G. 251, 1). — Δακέδαιμονος: as the Lacedaemonians were now the first power in Greece. — τὸ νῦν εἶναι, for the present (G. 268, n.).

38. δ τι δέν δοκή, whatever may seem in each case (δέν): cond. relative clause (G. 232, 3), not indirect question. — εἰ . . . δρῇ, if any one (now) sees (G. 221), present like δέν δοκεῖ (G. 232, 1). — Εδοξε ταῦτα, they voted this, this seemed good to them: cf. i. 3. 20, and note.

39. τὸ δεδογμένα, what has been voted. — δοτίς . . . τεθημεῖ, like εἰ τις,

etc. (G. 232, 1). — μεμνήσθω εἶναι, be *mindful that he be*: ἂν would mean *that he is*. — τῶν νικόντων ἔστι, *belongs to the victors*. — καὶ εἰ τις δέ, *and even if any* (see note on i. 1. 2). — σάρξιν, λαμβάνειν: cf. τὸ κατακαλεῖν and τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, above (G. 259, n.). — τὰ τῶν ἥττομένων, *the possessions of the vanquished*.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks burn their wagons, tents, and superfluous baggage. They are visited by Mithridates (1), who pretends that he is well disposed towards them, and proposes to join them if they have any well-developed plans for escape (2). After consultation, Chirisophus answers that, if unmolested, they will proceed homeward, doing as little harm to the country as possible; but that, if hindered, they propose to fight their way (3). Mithridates endeavors to persuade them that their plan is not feasible, and they conclude that he is a spy (4). They resolve to admit no more heralds to the camp (5). They cross the river Zapatas; and again Mithridates appears, with a body of cavalry, and attacks them (6, 7). The Greeks pursue, but are unable to overtake the enemy (8, 9). Some of them are wounded by the barbarians, who shoot backwards as they ride (10). At the evening's halt, Xenophon is blamed for the pursuit (11). He acknowledges his error (12, 13), and thanks the Gods that no great harm was done (14). He calls attention to the advantages at present possessed by the enemy (15), and proposes that the Greeks at once provide themselves with slingers and cavalry by banding certain Rhodians in their army, who understand the use of the sling, into a company of the former, and by equipping for riders all the horses in their possession (16–19). The plan is approved, and two hundred slingers with fifty horsemen are made ready (20).

1. **ὅτιον**: governed by **δέοτο** (G. 172, 1) and limited by **περιττῶν** (G. 168), *whatever of the spare articles*: its antecedent is the object of **μετεβοστα**. — **ἀριστο-ποιουμένων** (G. 131, 1; cf. 130, 2). — **εἰς ἐπήκοον**, *within hearing (ἀκούοντος)*.

Page 76. — 2. **διάγων** (sc. χρόνον), *tarrying*. — **ώς φίλον τε καὶ εὖουν** (sc. **ὅτια**) **καὶ βουλδέμενον**, *as (one whom you may assume to be) a friend, etc.*: ὡς has its force as explained in G. 277, n. 2.

3. **Θεύε** (imperf.), *was spokesman*. — **εἰ . . . ἔτι** (G. 221). — **ώς ἀσύντατα**, *doing as little harm as shall be possible*. — **ἵνη δέ τις**, *but if any one* (Tissaphernes, for instance) *shall hinder* (G. 223): cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — **διαπολεμεῖν**, *to fight it out* (**διά**).

4. **βασιλέως ἄκοντος** (sc. **ὅτιος**). — **ἰνόπεμπτος** (*observe the force of τῷδε*), *sent in an underhand way*. — **οἰκέων**, *kinsmen*. — **πίστεως ἔνεκα**, *to secure good faith*, i. e. on the part of Mithridates.

5. **δόγμα** (see G. 129, 4): Eng. derivative? — **τὸν πόλεμον ἀκτίρυκτον εἶναι**, *that the war should be without heralds* (i. e. *one in which no messengers were to be received from the enemy*): **ἀκτίρυκτος** with **πόλεμος** sometimes means *implacable, merciless*. — **ἴστιν . . . εἰλιν**, *so long as they should be in the enemy's country* (G. 248, 1): the direct form of the resolution (**δόγμα**) being **ἴστιν ἀν ἀμεν**. — **διέφθαρον . . . στρατίστας**, *they (the Persians) kept trying*

to corrupt the soldiers (G. 200, n. 2); but διέφθεραν, *they (actually) corrupted*. — ἀπίων (G. 279, 4, n.). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

6. τοξότας, σφενδονήτας (G. 129, 2 b): cf. ἄκοντισται in § 7, and ὅπλιτῶν and τελταστῶν in § 8.

7. ὡς φύλος ὁν (G. 277, n. 2). — αὐτῶν, i. e. of his men. — ἔπασχον κακῶ (G. 165, n. 1²). — Κρήτες: the Cretan τοξόται are mentioned in i. 2. 9 (see note).

Page 77. — τῇ ὡς (G. 266, 2, n. 1) . . . σφενδονητῶν (G. 171, 1), *they shot too short to reach the (Persian) slingers*.

8. διωκτέον (G. 281, 2). — ἐδίωκον has for its subject the antecedent of οἱ.

9. ἐκ πολλοῦ, *with a long start*. — οὐχ οἶον τε, *not possible* (G. 151, n. 4²).

10. εἰς τούπισθεν (τὸ ὅπισθεν), *behind them*, in the proverbial “Persian” style. — διώξειν (G. 233). — ἑταναχορέν μαχομένους: because the Persian cavalry turned upon them when they began to retire.

11. καὶ αὐτός, *even in person*. — οὐδὲν μᾶλλον βλάπτειν, *to do them no more harm* (G. 159, n. 4).

12. γῆιμοντο . . . μαρτυροί: he said δρῶς γῆιασθε (G. 243, n. 1), καὶ . . . μαρτυρεῖ. Translate, *he said that they had blamed him rightly, and that the result itself bore witness to them*. — πάσχοντας (G. 280).

13. ἀληθῆ λέγετε, i. e. *you are right as to what they took place*.

14. χάρις: sc. ἔστω. — βλάψαι (G. 266, 1). — μεγάλα (G. 159, n. 2).

15. δοῦν: sc. τοσοῦτον, *from such a distance that* (lit. *through so great a distance as*: G. 161). — οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες, i. e. hurlers of the javelin. — ἐκ τέξου βύματος, *if he had a bow-shot the start of him*; cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 9.

Page 78. — 16. Ἡμεῖς with μελλομεν, instead of ἥμην following δεῖ (G. 172, n. 2). — τὴν ταχιστην (G. 160, 2). — καὶ διπλάσιον φέρονται (pass.), *fit* (lit. *are carried*) even twice as far. — σφενδονῶν (G. 175, 1, n. 1).

17. χειροπληθότι (G. 131, 1): pred. adj. (G. 142, 3²), the idea being, *because the stones they use in slinging are of hand-size*. — μολυβδίσιν, *leaden slugs* (G. 188, 1, n. 2).

18. αὐτῶν: poss. gen. dep. on the indir. quest. τίνες . . . σφενδόνας (cf. note on αὐτῶν, iii. 1. 19). — πέπανται (see πάρομαι), *have*, cf. κέκτηνται — τούτῳ, *to any such*, as if τίς had been used instead of τίνες. — αὐτῶν, i. e. the slings (G. 178). — τῷ σφενδονῶν ἐντεταγμένῳ, *to any one who may have taken the position of slinger*. — ἐθελούτι, *of his free will* (G. 277, 2). — ἀλλιγτινὰ ἀτέλειαν, *some exemption* (e. g. from severer camp-duty) *besides*.

19. τῶν Κλεάρχου: sc. ἵππων (G. 168), i. e. horses not carried away by the cavalry who deserted (see ii. 2. 7). — αἴχμα-αλάρτους: composition? — σκευοφόρα, i. e. mules, in place of (ἀντί) the horses now to be taken for cavalry service. — εἰς ἵππας, *for the use of cavalry*. — τοὺς φεύγοντας, i. e. those mentioned in § 9 and § 10.

20. ἤγενοντο, *were obtained*. — δοκιμάσθησαν, *were accepted*.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: Early the next day they resume the march (1), and just after crossing a dangerous ravine see Mithridates approaching with 5,000 men (2). The enemy pass the ravine, but, when charged upon by the Greeks, retreat precipitately (3, 4). The Greeks mutilate the bodies of the slain (5), and then march on to the deserted city of Larissa, on the Tigris (6–9), from which they proceed to a fortress near Mespila (10–12). During the next day's march Tissaphernes makes his appearance with a large body of troops (13). He does not venture an attack (14), and hastily retreats when the newly organized slingers and archers begin to use their weapons (15). He follows, however, close after them (16, 17). The Greeks halt for one day; and on the second proceed through the open country, more or less annoyed by Tissaphernes (18). Finding themselves hampered by the arrangement of the troops in the form of a square, they make a new disposition of the army, and march onward for four days (19–23). On the fifth day they see a royal building, the way to which lies among high hills (24). While descending one of these, they are attacked by the enemy in the rear (25), and are thrown into confusion (26). The same thing occurs on the second hill, but finally they get a portion of their force above the enemy, who then desist (27–29). The Greeks encamp in certain villages (30), where they remain three days, but on the fourth descend into the plain beyond (31). Tissaphernes overtakes them, and they immediately encamp (32). This gives them greatly the advantage (33). At night the enemy retire (34–36); upon which the Greeks decamp, and get so far away that they are not overtaken until the fourth day. The barbarians now have the advantage of an elevated position, under which the Greeks must pass (37); and accordingly Chirisophus orders Xenophon to bring his peltasts to the front. This Xenophon declines to do (38–40), but he proposes that they attempt to gain the summit of the mountain above the enemy, which has been left unprotected (41), and himself makes the attempt with a body of picked men (42, 43). The enemy see the movement, and try to reach the summit before the Greeks (44). There is great shouting in both armies (45); and Xenophon gallantly encourages his men, who finally succeed in reaching the summit before the enemy (46–49).

1. τῇ ἀλλῇ, *the next day*, for τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. — χαράδραν: the bed of a mountain stream, generally dry, such as are now often used as roads in Greece.

2. διαβεβήκοσι, *after they had crossed* (G. 277, 1). — γῆγησε (G. 164). — ἐποσχόμενος . . . παραδάστεν (G. 203, N. 2): his promise was ἐν λέξι, παραδώσω (G. 247): we might have had εἰ λάβοι. — καταφρονήσας, *having come to despise* (G. 200, N. 5 b).

Page 79.—3. σύν (cf. εἰς, i. 2, 3, and note), *about*: lit. (as much) as. — παρήγελτο, *orders had been given*. — οὐς: subject of διώκειν. — θαρροῦσι . . . δυνάμεως, *to pursue boldly, as a sufficient force was to follow* (G. 277, N. 2).

4. κατειλήψει: sc. αὐτούς. — ἐσήμηνε: sc. διατιγκτής (G. 134, N. 1 d). — εἰς εἴρητο, *those who had received orders*, as subject of θέου (cf. οὐς θεα διώκειν, κ. τ. λ. in § 3). — οἱ δὲ (G. 143, 1, N. 2), i. e. the enemy.

5. τοῖς βαρβάροις (G. 184, 3). — αὐτό-κλευστοι: cf. αὐτό-ματος, i. 2. 17, and αὐτό-μολος, i. 7. 2. — οἵ τι φοβεράτατον δρᾶν (G. 261, 2), as frightening as possible to behold (sc. τὸ δράμα).

7. Δάριστα: an old name (orig. meaning *citadel*) given to several fortified Greek cities and to the citadel of Argos. The Larissa here mentioned is the site of the modern Nimrud, and it was once the S. W. corner of Nineveh. See note on *Μέσπιλα* in § 10. — τὸ παλαιόν, *anciently*. — λιθίη (G. 129, 14).

8. βασιλεύς, i. e. Cyrus the Great: see note on § 10. — νεφέλη: the cloud hiding the sun was an eclipse. — κελεύσιν: sc. τὴν πόλιν; the eclipse being considered an evil omen. — ἄλλο: see ἀλλοκομεῖ.

9. παρά, *by the side of*: cf. note on i. 2. 13. — πλέθρον: see note on i. 2. 5.

Page 80. — 10. Μέσπιλα (opposite Mosul): this is the N. W. corner of the immense city of Nineveh, the once splendid capital of the Assyrian empire. Mespila is about 18 miles above Larissa (see note on § 7), which distance agrees with the length of the city (150 stadia) given by Diodorus (ii. 3). As the breadth was 90 stadia (nearly 11 miles) and the circuit 480 stadia (about 56 miles), Nineveh must have been a collection of towns and palaces not included within a single wall. The Assyrian empire was overthrown by the Medes, with the help of the Babylonians, about 625 B. C. (See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 391.) Nineveh, however, was not destroyed, but remained a part of the Median empire until this was overthrown by Cyrus the Great in 558 B. C., when the city disappears from history. This Median occupation is mentioned here and in § 7, and this seems to be all that Xenophon knew or cared to tell of the history of this famous place. This is almost as bad as if a mediæval traveller had called Athens "a place which the Romans once occupied"; but surely quite as pardonable as a modern geographer's remark that "Greece occupies the southern part of the *Turkish peninsula*"! The slight notice of the ruins taken by Xenophon shows at once the completeness of the destruction of Nineveh and the carelessness of even a cultivated Greek about the former glory of "Barbarians." From both Mespila and Larissa monuments and sculptures have been brought to the British Museum, especially by Layard. — κογχυλιάτου (nom. -άτης): κόγχη, Lat. *concha*, a muscle shell: cf. Eng. *conch*, *conchology*.

11. πλινθίον: cf. λιθίη in § 7, and the reference. — Μῆδαι, *Medæi*, wife of Astyages, the last king of Media. — καταφυγεῖν (G. 203); cf. θλεῖν in § 12 (G. 202). — ἀπώλεσαν . . . ὑπὸ Περσῶν, they lost their power (i. e. were deprived of it) by the Persians.

12. χρόνφ, i. e. by length of siege. — ἐμβροντήτους, *thunderstruck*, i. e. stupefied or mad (attonitus), perhaps by fright at a thunderstorm. Cf. § 8.

13. εἰς refers to the coming of T. upon the course of their day's march. — οὓς τε . . . ἔχων (sc. ἔχων), having not only (τε) the cavalry (G. 154) which he himself brought with him: cf. ἔχων ἀνέβη, below. — τοῦ ἔχοντος, who had (in marriage), in appos. to Ὁρόντα (G. 89). — οὐς . . . βαρβάρους, the barbarians whom Cyrus had in his expedition.

14. τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δέ (G. 143, 1). — εἰχεν καταστήσας, stationed and kept in the rear (of the Greeks). — ἐμβαλεῖν, to make a direct attack.

15. Σκύθαι τοξόται: the name *Scythian* was given to all archers of a certain class, whether they were native Scythians or not. At Athens policemen were called τοξόται or Σκύθαι, because the state sometimes imported Scythian slaves (who were archers) to serve as a city police. — ἄνδρός (G. 171, 1). — οὐδὲ . . . ράδιον ἦν, i. e. could not well miss if he tried, on account of the dense throng of the enemy.

Page 81. — 17. Κρητί, construed with χρήσιμα. — χρώμενοι (G. 279, 4, N.). — τοξεύειν (G. 260, 1). — ἀνω λέντες, shooting upwards, so as to recover the arrows more easily. — μακράν: sc. ὅδον (G. 161). — ἀστε χρήσθαι, i. e. of use.

18. μέτον ἔχοντες, having the worst of it. — ἀκρο-βολίσται (G. 129, 3; 132, 2); cf. ἀκροβολεύμενος, below.

19. ἔγρασαν, found out (G. 200, N. 5 δ). — ἦν συγκύπτη τὰ κέρατα (G. 225), if the wings are ever drawn in (cf. θταν διάσχι in § 20). — ὅδον στενωτέρας οὖσης, because the road is narrower than usual: this would be likely in the hilly and broken country they were nearing. — ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὄπλιτας (G. 261, 1, N. 1), that the heavy-armed should be squeezed out of their ranks (sc. ἐφ τῆς τάξεως), subject of ἀνάγκη ἔστιν: the hoplites wore heavy armor, and depended for their effectiveness on the steadiness of the ranks. — πιεζομένους, crowded together.

20. τὸ μέτον, the space between. — εὔεισθετον (ἐπι-τίθημι) τοῖς πολεμίοις (G. 185), easy for the enemy to attack.

21. ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, of a hundred men each. — ὅλλους (sc. ἐπέστηταν: see G. 137, N. 4): the λόχος had its divisions of fifty and twenty-five, each with its special officer. — οὗτοι (sc. οἱ λόχοι) would naturally have been subj. of ἴντεμνον, but of λοχαγοι is added to mark those who directed the manœuvre. — παρήγοντεςθεν τῶν κεράτων, led on (their companies) out of the way of (i. e. behind) the wings, so as to give the others more room.

22. τὸ μέτον ἀνεξειμπλασαν, i. e. they filled the space left open. — τὸ διέχον, the interval. — κατὰ λόχους, by companies, i. e. the four enomoties of each company being in file (probably with a front of five); κατὰ πεντηκοστῶν, i. e. in two files, each having two enomoties (or 50 men), giving an entire front of ten men; and κατ' ἐνομοτας, i. e. with all four enomoties in line. The last would give the six companies a front of 24 files (probably 120 men). It will be remembered that these six companies were to fill the space which would be left open by separating the wings when the road permitted. See note on iv. 3. 26.

Page 82. — 23. ἐν τῷ μέρει, each in turn. — φάλαγγος: dep. on που, if there was need at any part of the line. — τέτταρας, i. e. four days' march without adventure.

24. βασιλείαν, i. e. βασιλεῖον (G. 53, 3, N. 1; cf. 129, 12). — βασιλεάσιν τι, a royal building or estate on the distant slope. — διά, over. — διημένοι (G. 138, N. 7).

25. ὡς . . . ἀναβαλεῖν, so as to ascend the next (G. 266, N. 1). — εἰς τὸ

πρανές, *down hill*. — **τηνδ μαστίγων**, *under the lash*, i. e. scourged to its slaves: see the account of the Persians at Thermopylae, Herod. vii. 223 (*Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 185, § 44).

26. **γυμνήτων** (G. 175, 2): cf. note on i. 2. 3. — **δχλε, the crowd**, who were *εἰσω τῶν σπλαν*, as distinct from the men in the ranks. See iii. 2. 36, and note.

28. **ἀπίον** (G. 233). — **ἀνήγαγον**, *brought up*. — **τὸ δρός**, i. e. the higher hill (§ 24), from which the smaller hills descended (*καθῆκον*).

29. **ὑπέρ**, *above*. — **τολεμίον**: this and the first **τολέμιοι** refer to the Persians, the second **τολέμιοι** to the Greeks.

30. **τῇ δδφ . . . γηλόφους**, i. e. *by the road which led over the hillocks*, as opposed to the course of the **πελτασταί** along the slope of the higher hill.

Page 83. — **κατὰ τὸ δρός επιπαριώντες**, *marching to the same point (τῷ) along the slope (κατὰ τὸ δρός) in the same direction with (παρά) the main body*. — **τὰς κάρας**: see § 24. — **λαρπούς**, *nurses*, selected from the soldiers.

31. **καὶ ἄρα . . . εἶχον**: we should expect **ἔχοτες** (causal). — **ἴππους** (G. 184, 3). — **τῷ σατραπεύοντι**, *by the acting satrap*, or royal governor (G. 188, 3).

33. **πολὺ διέφερον**, *they found it very different*, i. e. *much easier*: the more common impers. constr. (which many MSS. and edd. have here) would be **πολὺ διέφερεν . . . ὅρμωντας . . . πορευόμενος**. — **ἐκ χάρας**, *from a position*; opposed to **πορευόμενοι**, *on the march*.

35. **πωντρόν**, *a troublesome (wretched) thing*. — **αὐτοῖς** (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — **πεποδισμένοι**, *hobbled*, *praeediti*, their feet being tied together by a short cord. — **τοῦ μὴ φεύγεντος ἐνεκα** (G. 262, 2). — **δεῖ . . . ἀνθρί**: the dat. for the accusative is *very rare* with the infin. after **δεῖ**, and it is better here (with Rehdantz) to supply **τινά** (i. e. *a servant*) as subj. of **ἐποιέαν** and **χαλινώσαν**, and **αὐτόν** (i. e. *the horseman himself*) as subj. of **ἀναβήναι**. The idea is: a Persian horseman must wait to have his horse saddled and bridled, and to put on his own armor, before he can mount. — **θορύβους δρότος**: temporal, like **νύκτωρ** (G. 277, 1).

36. **διαγγελλομένους**, *passing the word of command*. — **ἔκχριψε**: sc. *the herald* (G. 134, N. 1 d). — **ἀκουόντων**, i. e. *within hearing of the enemy*.

Page 84. — **λένειν** is used in a rare (chiefly poetic) sense = **λυσιτελέν**, *to profit*, *to be expedient*: as in English, *they thought it would not pay*. — **αὐτοῖς** and **νυκτός** belong to both of the following infinitives.

87. **ἀπίοντας** (G. 280). — **καὶ αὐτοί, themselves too** (G. 145, 1). — **ἀκρυνχίαν, spur** (lit. nail-tip). — **ἐν' ᾧ, along the base of which**. — **κατάβασις** (see G. 129, 3): cf. **ἀνάβασις**.

39. **δέ λέγει** (G. 143, N. 2). — **ήμεν** (G. 184, 3). — **οὐκ ξετι παρελθεῖν**, *there is no getting by*. — **εἰ μὴ ἀποκόφομεν** (G. 223, N. 1).

40. **ἐρημα**, *exposed*. — **τῶς τις ἀπελῆ**, *how we (lit. one) shall drive*, etc.

41. **ὑπέρ . . . στρατεύματος**, *close above their own (the Greek) army*. — **ἴγώ δ' ἀθλώ, and I volunteer**: **ἴγώ δέ** is more emphatic, as **οὐ μέν** is omitted with **μένε**.

42. **κελεύει δέ οἱ**: **οἱ** as indirect reflexive (G. 79, 1; 144, 2), following **συρ-πέμψατ** (G. 193).

Page 85.—ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, *from the front* (cf. οὐρᾶς). — μακρόν, *too far*.

43. ἔλαβε, i. e. *he* (Ch.) *took* to replace the peltasts. — τοὺς κατὰ μέσον: see § 22. — αὐτῷ: Xenophon. — τοὺς τριακοσίους, i. e. three of the six companies of § 21; these had been moved to the front when the attacks came from a new quarter. — οὐς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων (partitive): by attraction; the simple form would be τοὺς τριακοσίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οὐς εἶχε.

44. ἀμιλλάσθαι, *to race or vie in speed*.

45. διακελευομένων: agreeing with the plural implied in στρατεύματος (G. 138, N. 3). — τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην, *Tissaphernes and his men*. — Notice the chiasmus in διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν and τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

46. ἀμιλλάσθαι: see note on § 44. — τὴν λοιπήν (sc. ὁδόν).

48. καὶ ὅς, *and he* (G. 151, N. 3²). — ἔχον ἐπορεύετο, *marched on with it* (the shield). — θώρακα ἵππικόν: the horsemen carried no shield, and accordingly wore a heavier breastplate. — ὑπάγειν, *to lead on slowly*. — παρίειν, *to come up*.

49. ἀναβάς, *mounting his horse (again)*. — βάσιμα . . . ἀβατα (sc. τὰ χωρά), *passable . . . impassable* (i. e. for a horseman): Krüger makes the construction impersonal, like ἀδύνατά ἔστιν, *it is impossible*, for ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν. — φθάνουσι, *anticipate*, with object πολεμίου. — γενόμενοι (G. 279, 4).

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The barbarians now flee, and the Greeks descend unmolested into the plain (1). In the evening the enemy appear (2), and attempt to fire the villages (3). Xenophon says encouragingly that this shows that the Persians relinquish their claim upon the country, and proposes jestingly that they defend the villages as their own property; but Chirisophus says, also in jest, that they had better fire them (4–6). The generals and captains on assembling are much perplexed about their route (7). A Rhodian proposes that they kill the cattle and make a bridge of the inflated skins across the Tigris (8–11), but the plan is not regarded feasible (12). The next day they march back upon the course they have come (13). The generals and captains hold another council, and question the prisoners about the country (14). They learn something of the roads leading in the four cardinal directions, and in particular of the Carduchi, a warlike people among the mountains, who do not obey the King (15, 16). The generals conclude to make their way northward through the Carduchi (17), and give orders for the soldiers to be ready to march any time during the night (18).

Page 86.—1. ἀλλην ὁδόν: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — ἀγαθῶν, i. e. *supplies*.

3. ἐνούμενοι . . . ἔχοιεν, *being apprehensive that they might not know*, etc. (G. 215, N. 1). — εἰ κάοιεν: sc. the enemy (G. 248, N.). — λαμβάνοιεν (G. 244) governs ἐπιτήδαια: the direct question would be πόθεν . . . λαμβάνωμεν;

4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας, i. e. *from helping* those who were scattered in plundering (§ 2). — κατέβη: from the height (§ 1).

5. 'Οπάτε . . . εἶναι; don't you see that they admit the country is now ours? (G. 280). — ἡ γὰρ . . . ἀλλοτριαν, for what they stipulated against our doing, when they made the treaty (cf. ii. 3. 27), viz., burning the King's territory, (this) they are now themselves (doing, by) burning it as if it were another's: μὴ κάειν . . . χάραν (sc. τῆμας) is in apposition with the antecedent of οὐ. See i. 9. 21, and note; in both cases a more definite expression (here κάουσι) is substituted by *anacoluthon* for a more general one like ποιοῦσι.

6. Οὐδέν τι ξειργε δοκεῖ, I don't think so now. The reply is mere jest, like the preceding remark of Xenophon.

7. στιγνάς, encampment (in the village). — ἔνθεν μὲν . . . ἔνθεν δέ, on the one hand . . . on the other.— ὁ ποταρός: the Tigris. — ὡς μηδέ . . . βάθους (sc. τιστί), so that not even their spears projected when they tried the depth, i. e. their spears found no bottom (G. 184, 3, n. 4; 266, n. 1). Cf. iii. 2. 22.

Page 87.—8. καρδί τετρακισχίλιον, four thousand at a time.—Ἐν δέομαι, what I require (G. 172). — τάλαντον: cf. note on i. 4. 13.

9. Ἀσκῶν: bags of inflated hides are still used in crossing these rivers. — αἰγας: derived from ἀλοω, to leap. — ἀποδαρέντα: see ἀποδέρα. — φυσιθέντα refers to δέρματα, hides, implied in ἀποδαρέντα. — παρέχον (G. 226, 2).

10. δεσμῶν, girths. — ὄρμισας, mooring. — ἀφεῖς, by letting them down: this and ἀρτήσας (G. 277, 2) are subordinate to ὄρμισας. — διαγαγόν, carrying (the line of floats) across the stream. — ἀμφοτέρων δήσας, fastening them to the two banks, to serve as pontoons, or supports to a floating bridge.

11. Εἴτε τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι, will keep from sinking (G. 263, 1): for the gen. τοῦ καταδύναι, see G. 174; μὴ, G. 283, 6. An equivalent (though different) construction follows, ἀστε μὴ διισθάνειν σχήσα, will keep you from slipping, lit. will keep you so that you shall not slip (G. 266, 1).

12. χαρίειν (G. 129, 15). — τὸ δρυόν, the execution of the plan (ἔνθιμπμα). — οἱ κωλύσοντες, men ready to prevent it: cf. note on ii. 3. 5. — πολλοὶ ἵπποι: apposition. — οἱ . . . ἀν ἐπέργον: sc. εἰ ἐπεξεργασαν.

13. ἐτανεχάρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, etc., i. e. they made a day's march backward to some villages which had not been burnt by the enemy (see § 3). — ή πρὸς Βαβυλώνα, or towards Babylon: these words seem to have been originally a marginal note explaining εἰς τοῦμπαλιν: τοῦμπαλιν ή (than) πρὸς Βαβυλώνα would mean, in a direction opposite to that of Babylon, which is not possible under the circumstances (cf. § 15). — ἔνθεν = έξ ής (sc. τὴν κώμην), the village from which. — θμοῖσι ήσαν θαυμάζειν, were like to wonder, i. e. seemed amazed, like ἐφίκεσαν θαυμάζειν: the text, however, is very doubtful — τρέψονται . . . ἔχοιεν (G. 243).

14. ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: cf. Engl. "about his business." — ήλεγχον . . . χάραν, they examined them as to the whole region on every side (G. 164).

15. τῇσι ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα (poss. gen.), on the road towards B. — ήσοντες (G. 247). — θερίζειν, ἑρίζειν: in reverse order: the King spent the winter at Babylon, the spring at Susa, and the summer at Ecbatana. — διαβάντι . . . ἐσπέραν is used like the other adjective phrases with ή. — δτι is repeated for emphasis in the last

clause. — **Καρδούχους**: the people called Kurds, Armenian *Kordukh*; the region is *Kurdistan*.

Page 88. — 16. ἀκούειν, *listen to or obey*. — ἴμβαλειν ποτε εἰς αὐτός, *once invaded them* (G. 203). — βασιλικήν (G. 129, 13 b). — ὅποτε . . . σπέσσωντο, καὶ ἐπιμεγνύνασ (depends on ἵφασαν): in the direct form, ὅποταν . . . σπέσσωνται, καὶ ἐπιμεγνύνασ, whenever they (the Kurds) *make a treaty, etc., some of them also mingle*, etc. — σφάν, ἔκεινον: sc. τύπας (G. 168, N. 2).

17. ἑκαστοχόστοι εἰδίναι, *that they knew the way in every direction*. — τούτους: governed by διελθόντας. — Ἰφασαν τίξειν, *they (the captives) said that they (the Greeks) would come*. — εὐπορον . . . πορεύεσθαι: in the direct form, εὐπορόν ἔττι οὗτοι δύ της ἡδαη πορεύεσθαι, *it is easy to go whithersoever you wish* (G. 233), the apodosis being general in sense.

18. ἐπὶ τούτοις, *thereupon*. — ὥρας: part. gen. after ἤνικα, *at whatever time*. — τὴν ὑπερβολήν, *the pass*: acc. by anticipation; regularly it would be, *they feared that the mountain-pass might be seized beforehand*. — ἤνικ' δύ . . . παραγγέλλῃ, i. e. *when the order should be given*; cf. εἴ τις . . . λυποῖ in ii. 3. 23, and note: this subjunctive might have been changed to the optative (omitting δύ), as ἀνεῳδή δαπνῆσσαν is changed from ἀπειδή δαπνῆσσητε.

BOOK FOURTH.

HARD FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAINS. — ENTRANCE INTO ARMENIA. — GREAT SUFFERING FROM COLD AND FAMINE. — TO MOUNT THECHES, FROM WHICH THE SEA IS SEEN. — ARRIVAL AT TRAPEZUS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1); and review of the situation (2–4). The Greeks cross the plain by night and reach the hills at daybreak (5); and, with Chirisophus in command and Xenophon guarding the rear (6), cross the height in front of them to villages among the mountains, where they find provisions in abundance (7–9). Their rear, however, as they descend into the villages, is attacked by the Carduchi, who, when they encamp, light fires on the hills (10, 11). At daybreak the generals resolve to abandon the captives and superfluous baggage-animals (12, 13); and, when the march begins, see that the order is executed (14). The next day it storms (15); and, the enemy pressing upon them, they march but slowly (16). At one time Chirisophus hurries forward, and, the rest following rapidly without knowing the cause, two soldiers are killed by the enemy (17, 18). When they encamp, Xenophon blames Chirisophus (19); but he replies that he was trying to secure the only known pass through the mountains (20, 21). Xenophon proposes to make guides of two prisoners (22), who are at once asked whether there is any other road. The one who denies this is put to death (23). The other says that there is such a pass (24), but that a certain height must be taken possession of beforehand (25). Volunteers are called for and detailed for this special service (26–28).

1. See note on ii. 1. 1. — **ὅτα ἐπολεμήθη**: passive of an active constr. **ὅτα ἐπολέμησαν** (G. 159, N. 2; 198); *to what extent war was made upon the Greeks*.

2. **ἴνθι** (sc. ἔκεισται), *to the place where*. — **πάροδος**, *way along the river*. — **ἐκρέματο**: see **κρέμαμαι**. — **πορευτόν εἶναι** (dir. **πορευτόν ἔστιν**: G. 281, 2). This section is a recapitulation of what has been stated in the last chapter.

3. **τῶν ἀλισκομένων** (G. 171, 2, N. 1), *the captives taken along the way*.

Page 89. — **εἰ διλθούειν** has for its apodosis the sentence **ἐν τῇ Ἀρμείᾳ . . . περιῆσται**, including two subordinate protases; it represents **ἴνθι διλθωμέν** of the direct discourse, and the four following verbs might, like it, have been changed to the opt. (G. 247). — **περιῆσται**, *will pass round* (G. 200, N. 8 b). — **ἔλγετο**: the subject is **τὰς πηγὰς εἶναι**. — **ἴστιν οὕτως ἔχον**, *is just so* (G. 28, N. 1).

5. **τὴν τελευταῖν φυλακήν**: the Greeks divided the night into three watches. — **ὅτον . . . διλθεῖν**, *enough for crossing the plain in the dark*; **ὅτον** (sc. **τοσοῦτον**) takes the infinitive from the idea of *sufficiency* which it implies. — **παραγγέλσεως** (G. 129, 3), i. e. *the word of command* passed round, not by signal of trumpet. — **τὸ δρός**: cf. iii. 5. 7 and 17.

6. **τὸ ἄμφ’ αὐτόν**, *his own special command*: cf. **τὸ διπλιτικόν** (iv. 8. 18), **τὸ ἵππικόν**, *the cavalry*, and **τὸ Ἑλληνικόν** for *οἱ Ἑλλῆς*, *the Greek race*. — **μή**, *that*, after **κίνδυνος**. — **πορευομένων**, *as they went*, gen. abs. — **ἐπισπούτο**: see **ἔφεπομαι**.

7. **αἰσθέσθαι** (G. 274). — **ἴκνεται**, i. e. after crossing the hill and descending: cf. § 10. — **ἀεί**, *regularly*, qualifies **ἔφεπτο**. — **τὸ ὑπερβάλλον**, i. e. each detachment in succession followed, as it crossed the height.

8. **ἡν λαμβάνειν**, *there was an opportunity to take*. — **εἰ πως ἐθελήσειν**, *in case the K. should be willing* (G. 226, 4, N. 1; 248, 2): the apod. implied is, *that they might let them through*, or the like. — **ώς . . . χώρας = διὰ τῆς χώρας ὡς φύλας** (sc. **οὖσης**), i. e. *to let them go through their country as (being) a friendly one*: cf. i. 3. 14, and ii. 3. 27, and notes.

9. **ὅτῳ**, *whatever* (G. 187; 151, N. 2 b): the indefinite rel. **ὅτοις** sometimes has a plural antecedent, when it is itself singular, as here **τὰ ἐπιτήδαια**. — **καλούντων** (sc. **αὐτῶν**), *when they called* (G. 171, 2).

10. **τελευταῖοι, σκοτεῖοι** (cf. G. 129, 12). — **διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι** (G. 262, 1).

Page 90. — **ἡμέραν** (G. 161). — **ἀνάβασις, κατάβασις**: cf. **παραγγέλσεως** in § 5 (with ref.). — **ἔξ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ex improvviso**.

11. **ἴκινδύνευσεν ἀν διαφθερῆναι**, *would have risked perishing*. — **πολὺ, a great part**: cf. **τὸ πολὺ, the greater part**, i. 4. 13. — **συνείρεσν**, i. e. *watched each other's signals*.

12. **συνελθοῦσι . . . ξόξει**, i. e. *they came together and resolved*: cf. **δέξαν** in § 13. — **αἰχμ-άλωτα, taken in war** (**αἰχμή, a spear**, and **ἀλισκομai**).

13. **ἐπολεόν**: the subject is **ὑποζύγια**, etc. — **ἐπι, in charge of**. — **δέξαν, having resolved** (G. 278, 2), lit. *it having seemed good*: cf. **ξόξει**, § 12. — **ταῦτα** is governed by **ποιεῖν** understood: see, however, *Moods and Tenses*, § 110, 2, N. 2.

14. **ἴποστάντες, halting**. — **εἰ τι**: translate *whatever*. — **τῶν ἐργημένων**

(sc. ἀφέναι), of the things ordered (to be abandoned), or simply, of the things above mentioned (see § 12). — οἱ δὲ, and they (the soldiers). — πλὴν . . . ἐκλεψεν, unless one smuggled something. — οἷον . . . γυναικός: we should expect οἷον (for example) ἢ ταῖδα ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτοῦ, ἢ γυναικά (Krüger). — τῶν εἰπρεπῶν is partitive genitive. — τὰ μέν . . . τὰ δέ, sometimes . . . sometimes.

16. χωρίων, dim. (G. 129, 8). — ἀναχάγοντες and θαμνά are both poetic words.

Page 91. — παρήγγελλεν ὑπομένειν, would send word (for those in front) to wait. — ἐπικείοντο (G. 233): ἐπικειθαι, to press upon; ἐπιτίθεσθαι, to fall upon.

17. δε ταρεγγώτο, whenever the word was passed. — πρᾶγμά τι, some trouble ahead. — παρελθόντι (sc. τινι).

18. διαμητρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν (sc. τοξευθεὶς), shot directly through the head, lit. shot in the head directly through (G. 160, 1).

19. ὥσπερ εἶχεν, just as he was (sicut erat). — φεύγοντες ἄμα (G. 277, N. 1). — καλώ τε κάγαδώ: cf. note on ii. 6. 19. — ἀνελέσθαι, to take up for burial, a most sacred duty with the Greeks. The last sentence is in the direct discourse.

20. αὕτη is subj., and μία ὁδός pred.: lit. this which you see is the only way (and) sleep (δρόσια, sc. οὐστα); αὕτη cannot be taken as an adj. pron. with ὁδός (G. 142, 4). See notes of Krüger and Rehdantz; and cf. iv. 7. 4. — δχλον οὐ (G. 151, N. 2). — ἔκβασιν, way out.

21. ταῦτ' ἔσπειδον (G. 159, N. 2). — εἰ τοις δυναμην, in case I should be able; see note on εἰ τοις θελήσειαν in § 8: here an apod. is implied like ήτα φθάσαμε. — οὐ . . . ὅδον, say there is no other way. For οὐ φημι, cf. note on i. 2. 26.

22. θηρ, i. e. the ambush. — ἀναπεῦσαι: Krüger quotes Il. xv. 235, ὃς κε καὶ αὐτὶς Ἀχαιοὶ ἀναπνεύσωσι πόνοιο. — αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — ἡγεμόσιν (G. 137, N. 4): supply αὐτοῖς.

23. εἰ εἰδεῖεν, whether they knew: the direct question was δρ' ήστε; (G. 243). — οὐκ ἔφη: see note on § 21. — φόβων, threats.

Page 92. — 24. ἐτύχανε . . . ἐκδεδομένη, i. e. he happened to have a married daughter there. — αὗτός emphasizes the subject of ἡγήσεθαι: he snia he would himself lead (G. 138, N. 8 b). — ὁδόν (G. 159, N. 5): see note on i. 2. 20.

25. δισ-πάρ-ιτον (εἴμι): cf. ἀμαξ-ιτός, i. 2. 21, and see G. 132, 2. — δ: object of προκαταλήψοιτο: and unless they (τις) should first (πρό) occupy this (G. 202, 4; 247); the direct discourse was εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψεται, ἀδύνατον ἔσται (G. 223, N. 1).

26. πελαστάς is in apposition with, and ὅπλιτῶν limits, λοχαγούς. — εἰ τις . . . ἔστιν, whether there was any one (ἔστιν might have been εἴη after ἔδοκε). — γενέσθαι, to show himself: cf. ἐγένερο (end of § 28). — ὑποστὰς θελοντῆς, standing forth as a volunteer: cf. ὑφίσταται in § 27.

28. ἐρωτώσιν εἰ τις . . . θέλοι: here θέλοι of the direct question becomes opt. after an historic present (G. 200, N. 1; 201, Rem.).

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: The guide is bound, and arrangements are made for signals and the attack (1). The party starts, and Xenophon proceeds to divert the enemy's attention at the open pass (2), who continue to roll stones down the mountain at the Greeks all night (3, 4). The advance party surprise and kill outposts of the enemy, but make a mistake as to the position of the summit (5, 6). They halt for the night, and at dawn advance against the main enemy, who abandon their position (7). The force of Chirisophus succeeds in ascending the mountain (8); but Xenophon, who takes with the baggage the route of the advance party, is in danger of being cut off (9, 10). He routs the enemy posted on one hill overhanging the road, and they rally on the next (11, 12). Leaving a force on the first hill, he takes the second (13), and a third, and reaches the summit (14–16). A messenger brings word that the Greeks have been driven from the first hill (17). Xenophon proposes a truce to the barbarians (who are now posted on a hill opposite), which they consider; the force of Xenophon in the mean time passing along with the baggage (18, 19). But when he attempts to descend, they roll down stones. His shield-bearer deserts him, but another soldier runs to his support (20, 21). The entire Greek force encamps together again (22). The slain are collected and funeral rites performed (23). The next day the enemy continue to obstruct their progress, harassing them most whenever they are descending hills (24–27). Description of the Carduchian bowmen (28).

1. οἱ δέ, i. e. Xenophon and Chirisophus. — ἐμφαγόντας, when they had eaten. — συντίθενται, agree with them (i. e. the volunteers). — τὸ ἄκρον: cf. ἄκρον in iv. 1. 25. — τοὺς μὲν, ἀντὸν δέ, i. e. the volunteers and the officers. — ἀνω δύτας, i. e. from their position on the height (G. 204). — λέναι and συμβοηθήσαν denote later actions than φυλάττειν and σημαίνειν; hence perhaps the change in tense (G. 203, N. 2). See note on iv. 6. 20. — ἔκβασιν: cf. iv. 1. 20.

2. ὕδωρ, rain. — ὅπως . . . τὸν νοῦν, that the enemy might have their attention turned to that road. — ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν, that they might be, as far as possible, unseen.

Page 93.—3. ἦν οὖτε . . . ἐκβαίνειν, i. e. which they must cross before getting to the ascent. — ὀλοιτρόχους: a poetic word, compounded of εἰω (volvo), to roll (cf. θλιμος), and τρέχω; probably meaning rounded by rolling (i. e. in the water). See Liddell and Scott; and Theor. xxii. 49, there quoted: πέτροι ὀλοιτροχοι, οὗστε κυλίνδων χειμάρρους ποταμὸς μεγάλας περιέχετε δίναις. The χαράδρα which they were crossing was the dry bed of a winter torrent (χειμάρρους), down which the stones were hurled. Such χαράδρας are now often the best roads to be found in Greece. — διεσφενδόντωτο, flew in pieces (lit. were flung about, as if from slings): “diffundebantur; cf. σφενδόνη = funda.” Rehdantz.

4. εἰ μὴ δύναντο: sc. διαβήναι (G. 225). — κυλινδοῦντες (G. 279, 1).

5. ὡς . . . κατέχοντες, supposing they held the summit (cf. n. on i. 1. 11).

6. οἱ δέ οὐ κατεῖχον, i. e. they were wrong in so thinking: οἱ δέ is irregular in referring to the subj. of the preceding verb (see also G. 143, 1, N. 2). — μαστός, a round hill. — αὔτη (G. 142, 4, N. 1): οὐτος may stand between

the article and its noun, provided some qualifying word separates it from the article. — *αὐτόθεν*, *from that spot* (where they were).

7. *ἰπέψαινεν*: cf. note on iii. 2. 1. — *προσελθόντες* (G. 279, 4). — *εἴλωνται*, *nimble (well-girt)*: γάρ introduces the reason why *only a few* (*ἀλιγός*) were killed.

8. *ἀν-ἱμων*, *drew up* (like buckets from a well): *ἱμάω*, *to draw*; *ἱμάς*, *a thong or strap*.

Page 94. — 9. *ὑπέρ*, *by the same way with*.

10. ή *διεγέχθαν*, *or else be (themselves) entirely separated*: the perfect infinitive (G. 202, 2, n. 2) here denotes that the action is *decisive*; cf. *ἐκπελήχθαν* in i. 5. 13, and note. — *ἐπορεύθησαν* *ἄν*: the protasis is implied in the following clause (G. 226, 1). — *ὑποζύγια*: subject of *ἐκβῆνται*, i. e. *there was no other way for the beasts to get through*.

11. *ὅρθοις τοῖς λόχοις*, i. e. *with the companies marching (with intervals between them) in narrow parallel columns*: *ὅρθοις* implies that a body of troops has a much greater depth than front, including even single file. See note on iv. 8. 10. — *οὐ κύκλῳ*, i. e. not so as to cut the enemy off. — *εἰ βούλοντο* (G. 226, 4, n. 1): the apod. is supplied in *ἄφοδον*, i. e. a way by which they *might retreat*.

12. *τέως μέν*, *for some time*. — *ἔκαστος*: in appos. to the omitted subject of *ἴδυνταν*. — *οὐ προσέτεντο*, *did not admit*: i. e. they did not let the Greeks get near them, but fled. — *καὶ τοῦτόν τε . . . καὶ*: see note on i. 2. 18.

13. *'Εννοήσας μή*, *becoming anxious lest* (the meaning of *έννοήσας* being made more definite by the following constr. with *μή*). — *καὶ πάλιν*, *yet again*. — *ἐπιθείνοτο*, *for ἐπιθείνειν* (G. 122, n. 1; cf. 127, III.): such forms follow the analogy of verbs in *ω*. — *παριούσιν*, *as they passed*. — *ἐπὶ πολὺν ἥν*, *stretched out a long way*: cf. i. 8. 8, and note. — *διε . . . πορεύμενα* (G. 277, n. 2 b): cf. the Latin construction of quippe with a relative. — *διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ* (G. 142, 3).

14. δ *ὑπέρ . . . θελοντῶν* (see § 5): of the three expressions which qualify the attributive partic. *καταληφθέσης* (G. 276, 1), only one stands between *τῆς* and the partic., the others being placed outside of *τῆς . . . φιλακῆς* to avoid complicating that construction.

15. *δεῖσαντας* (G. 277, 2). — *αὐτούς*: the barbarians. — *πολιορκούντο*, from *πόλις* (*πολι-*) and *ἴρω* (*ἴρκω*), is often used, as here, where the force of *πόλις* is forgotten: we even have *πόλιν πολιορκεῖν* (see Crosby's note). — *ἅρα*, *in fact; as it proved*. — *διποσθόφιλακας*: cf. § 9, § 13, and § 17.

Page 95. — 16. *ὑπάγεν*, *advance slowly*. — *προσμίξειν*, i. e. *might come up*. — *θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα*: cf. i. 5. 14.

19. *ἴφ' ω*, *on condition that* (G. 267). — *ἐν ω*, *while*, introduces both clauses, *τὸ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ*. — *οἱ ἔκ*: cf. notes on *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως*, i. 1. 5, and on i. 2. 18. — *συνεφρύνησαν*: see *συρρέω*.

20. *Ιστάντο*, *were forming*. — *ἥρξαντο*, i. e. the Greeks. — *ἴθα . . . ἔκειντο*, *where the armed force was stationed* (see § 16): *κεῖσθαι* here is like a passive of *θέσθαι* (used as in § 16); the plur. *ἔκειντο* is exceptional. — *ἴναστοποτής* (G. 129, 2; 16, 1). — *ἀπέλιπεν*, i. e. *got separated from him, left him* (without his shield).

21. Δουστείς, of *Lusi* (or *Lusia*) in Arcadia (G. 129, 10). — προβεβλημένος, holding out (his shield) in front of both (G. 199, 3).

22. αὐτοῦ, there.—ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς, in plastered (or cemented) cisterns. Suidas (s. v. **λάκκος**) says: “The Athenians and other Greeks used to make large excavations underground, round or square, cement them, and keep wine and oil in them: these they called **λάκκος**.”

23. διεπράξαντο, managed, or bargained. — ἡγεμόνα: see iv. 1. 22–24. — ἐκ τῶν δινατῶν, i. e. as well as they could. — νόμοις: the word **νόμος** “includes all that is enjoined by law, custom, or the general sentiment, and all that is voluntarily accepted in reliance on these.” J. S. Mill, *Diss.*, Vol. IV. p. 302, n.

Page 96. — 24. εἴη (G. 233). — ἐκάλυνον, tried to hinder (G. 200, n. 2).

25. ἀνό-φραξιν, from ἀνό and φράσσω (*φραγ-*), found only here and in § 26 (Krüger): force of the suffix? — τοῖς πρότροις (G. 184, 3). — ἀνωτέρῳ γύνεσθαι, to get above.

27. ἦν ὅποτε, sometimes (G. 152, n. 2): cf. iv. 5. 31. — αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι, even to those who had gone up, i. e. to check them: cf. § 25 and § 26. — καταβαίνοντι: temporal participle. — ἔγγύθεν φεύγοντες: the opposite of ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας, iii. 3. 9. Note the distinction of φεύγειν, to flee, and ἀποφεύγειν, to escape.

28. τόξα: probably *long-bows*, which were drawn by bringing one end to (or near) the ground and *advancing the left foot* (*προβαλλόντες*) *towards that end* (*πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου*). Strabo (p. 772) tells of Aethiopian elephant-hunts, in which three men used one bow, τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποστ, τοῦ δ' ἄκοντος τὴν νευράν, two of them holding the bow, with their feet advanced (i. e. each with one foot advanced to steady himself), and the third drawing the string. Arrian (*Ind.* 16) speaks of bows which the Indians drew by bringing them to the ground and *bracing themselves* (*ἀντιβάντες*) *with the left foot*. In this passage of the *Anabasis*, there is very slight MS. authority for the common reading *προσβαίνοντες*. — ἄκοντοι: in appos. with αὐτοῖς (G. 137, n. 4): the arrows, a yard long, were picked up and used as darts, being fitted with an ἀγκύλη, a loop or strap, fastened at the middle, as a guide in grasping and help in hurling.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks encamp this side of the Centrites and rest (1, 2). The next morning they see cavalry and infantry across the river, prepared to hinder their entrance into Armenia (3, 4). The Greeks endeavor to cross, but the depth of the water and the missiles of the enemy oblige them to retreat (5, 6). Great numbers of the Carduchi assemble in their rear. They are greatly perplexed; but Xenophon again has a propitious dream, which he tells to Chirisophus (7, 8). The generals offer sacrifice (9). Two young men bring word to Xenophon that they have accidentally discovered a place where the river is easily fordable (10–12). He makes libations and reports to Chirisophus (13). and the soldiers are ordered to get their baggage ready. The generals consult

(14), and the order of march is determined (15). They then proceed with the young men as guides up the river (16). The hostile cavalry advances along the opposite bank. At the crossing, the Greeks throw off their outer garments (17), offer sacrifices, and all sing the paean (18, 19). Chirisophus enters the stream with his men, and Xenophon makes a feint of crossing at the lower ford (20). Chirisophus crosses easily, the enemy flying and abandoning some of their property; but Xenophon is in danger of attack from the Carduchi in his rear. He returns rapidly to the upper crossing, halts under arms, and disposes his men for attack (21–26). The Carduchi advance, and Chirisophus sends aid (27). Xenophon gives directions for a feigned attack (28, 29); and when the Carduchi press forward (30), the Greeks raise the paean and rush upon them and turn them (31), but also themselves retreat rapidly when the trumpet sounds, and cross the river (32). Some of the Greeks are wounded (33, 34).

1. ηὐλίσθησαν, had their quarters: the word originally means to pass the night (or live) in an open court (αὐλή). — ἔνρος (G. 129, 7; 160, 1). — δισμενοι (G. 138, n. 7). — τῶν Καρδούχων (end of the section) depends on τῶν ὀρέων.

2. πολλά: as adv. with μυημονεύοντες, talking over, recounting.—κακὰ . . . σύμπαντα, evils (so many) as they did not (suffer), even all put together, etc.

Page 97. — 4. Ὀρόντα: gen. (G. 39^b), i. e. troops of Orontas. — διπλα (G. 137, n. 4).

5. ὁδὸς . . . ἄνω, i. e. the single road which was visible was (one) leading up, etc.: the construction is ἡ ὁραμένη ὁδὸς μία (sc. οὖσα) ἣν διγουστα ἄνω. — ὥσπερ χειροποιητος (sc. οὖσα), (looking) as if it had been built.—ταύτη, here, i. e. opposite to this road.

6. παραμένοις (sc. τισίν), on trial. — οὕτοι corresponds with τέ after ἐπι. — εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise, i. e. if any of them did attempt to carry their arms through the river: cf. note on ii. 2. 1.—γυμνοι, exposed: plur. since τις is collective.

7. Ἔργα, where. — Ἐλλησιν (G. 184, 4). — ὁρῶσι μὲν . . . ὁρῶσι δὲ . . . ὁρῶσι δέ: notice the emphatic repetition. — ἐπικεισομένους (G. 280).

8. αὐτῷμαται: cf. i. 2. 17, and note. — περιρρυῆται, fell off (sc. ἔδεξα): for αὐτῷ, see G. 184, 3. — διαβαίνειν ὅπσοντος ἔβούλετο, took as long steps as he pleased (opposed to δεδέσθαι): διαβαίνειν in this sense was a good omen for crossing the river (διαβαίνειν); see § 12, § 14, and § 15.

Page 98. — 9. ὡς τάχιστα, as soon as. — ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου (sc. ἵερεον), with the first victim (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b).

10. ἀριστῶντι, while eating his lunch: ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι (§ 9), to prepare lunch. See also note on i. 10. 17. — ἔξει, κ. τ. λ.: the direct discourse would be: ξεστιν . . . προσελθεῖν, καὶ ἐάν καθεύδῃ . . . εἰπεῖν, ἐάν . . . έχῃ (G. 225). — αὐτῷ: with προσελθεῖν (G. 187). — ἐπεγέραντα εἰπεῖν, to wake him and tell. — έχοι: sc. εἰπεῖν.

11. καὶ τότε, and this time. — δηι τυγχάνοντεν . . . κατέδοντεν: the direct discourse was ἐτυγχάνομεν (G. 243, n. 1) . . . καὶ κατέδομεν: this true imperfect optative is very rare. — συλλέγοντες (G. 279, 4). — παιδίσκας

diminutive (G. 129, 8): cf. *νεανίσκος* in § 10, which is a diminutive in form only. — οἵστερ . . . καταπιθηρέντος (G. 138, n. 2), *apparently putting away bags of clothes*.

12. *δέξαι*: the *oratio obliqua* here changes from the opt. to the infin., as if *ἔφασαν* had already been introduced. — οὐδὲ γάρ . . . προσβατόν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο (sc. *ἴφασαν δέξαι*), *for (they said it appeared to them) that neither could the enemy's cavalry come down to the river at this point: οὐδὲ (also . . . not, or neither) implies that this ground for thinking it safe to cross the river here (*ἀσφαλής διαβῆναι*) is added to the proof (in § 11) that there was a ford, which appeared from the old man and his family having crossed here. — *ἴκεδύντες* (G. 138, n. 8 b), *having stripped*: distinguish the various *circumstances* (G. 277) of the crossing expressed by the three participles and γυμνός (sc. δύτες). — ὡς νευτόμενοι, *with the expectation of having to swim* (G. 277, n. 2). — *διαβαλνεῖν*: imperf. (G. 203, n. 1), representing *διεβαλνομέν*, *we proceeded (or attempted) to cross*; cf. this with *διαβήναι* (below) for *διεβημέν*, *we crossed (effected the crossing)*. — *πρόσθεν . . . πρὸν βρέξαι* (G. 274): for the use of *πρόσθεν*, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 106, n. 4. (C. iii. 1. 16).*

13. *τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἔγχειν* (sc. οἶνον), *to pour out (lit. pour in) wine for the young men*: the indefinite subjects of *ἔγχειν* and *εὐχετεῖν* are easily supplied. — *φήνασι* (G. 96). — *διεράπα* (see § 8): the plural seems to indicate the several points of the dream. — *πόρον*: referring to *διαβαλνεῖν* in § 8. — *καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγαθά*, *also the other blessings* (which had not been portended in the dream). — *ἐπιτελέσται*: depending on *εὐχετεῖν*.

14. *ὅπως ἀν διαβαῖνειν*: indirect question, representing *πῶς ἀν διαβαίμεν*; (G. 245). — *ὅπως* (without *ἀν*) introduces *νικῶν* and *πάσχοιεν*, the direct questions here being *πῶς νικῶμεν*; and *πῶς μηδὲν πάσχωμεν*; (G. 244, first example). If *ἀν* belonged to *πάσχοιεν*, we should have *οὐδένεν*.

Page 99. — 17. *ἀντιπαρίσταν*, *went along over against them*, i. e. on the other bank. — *κατὰ . . . δύτας*, *at the ford and where the (opposite) high banks were* (cf. § 11). — *στεφανωτάμενος*, *putting on a wreath*, probably one made on the spot. It was one of the institutions of Lycurgus that the Spartans should go into battle wearing wreaths (see Plutarch's *Lycurg.* 22). — *ἀποδύς*, *throwing off* (probably) his outer garment: *ἴκεδύντες* (§ 12), acc. to Rehdantz, means *undressing themselves entirely*. — *παρήγγελλε*, *gave the word*, i. e. to do the same. — *ὅρθιος*: see iv. 2. 11, and note.

18. *εἰς τὸν ποταμόν*, i. e. so that the blood ran into the river.

19. *ἀνηλάλαζον*, *raised the war-cry*, properly *shouted ALALA*: the *ἀλαγή* was a loud cry or chant, generally a joyous one raised by women in invoking the Gods.

20. *ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον*: see § 3 and § 5. — *ἴκεβασιν*, *passage out* (from the river). — *προστοιούμενος*, *feigning*: he "made a feint of hastening back to the original ford, as if he were about to attempt a passage there. This attracted the attention of the enemy's horse [on the opposite bank], who became afraid of being attacked on both sides, galloped off to guard the passage at the other point, and opposed no serious resistance to Chirisophus." Grote.

21. ὡς . . . ἐκβασιν, *with the appearance of hastening to the road which led up from the river*: *ἐκβασιν*, as a verbal noun, takes ἄνω and the gen. as if it were ἐκβαίνω. Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἐκβασιν in § 20, ἐκβαλνεῖν in § 3, and ἐκβανεῖν in § 23. — *ἔτενον*, *they pushed on*.

22. ἔβόων μη ἀπολεῖσθαι, *they called to them (exhorting them) not to be left behind*. — συνεκβαίνειν: *οὐν* governs *τοὺς πολεμίους* understood.

23. κατὰ . . . ποταμόν, *by (over) the bluffs which reached to the river* (cf. § 11).

Page 100. — 24. καταβαίνοντες (G. 280, N. 1).

26. ἀκμήν διέβαινε, *were just crossing*: with the adverbial accus. ἀκμήν (G. 160, 2), *just at the point*, cf. *τέλος* in i. 10. 13, and the common use of ἀρχήν, *at first*. — *ἄντια . . . θέτο*, *formed his line facing them*: cf. note on i. 5. 14. — κατ' ἐνωμοτας, *by enomoties*, i. e. with the four ἐνωμοτας (each of 25 men) arranged in *line*, probably in five ranks. The enomoties had been in column, and they were now to be brought into line by moving *παρ'* *ἀσπίδα*, i. e. *to the left*, lit. *by the shield* (the shield being carried on the left side). See notes on iii. 4. 21 and 22; and on *ἐπὶ δέρυ* in § 29 (below). — *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*, *so as to form a phalanx, or line of battle*. — *σύραγοις*, *rear-leaders*.

27. *τοῦ δχλου ψιλουμένους* (G. 174), *left by the crowd (of camp-followers, etc.)*. — *παραγγέλλῃ*: sc. δ *Ξενοφῶν*.

28. *ἴδων . . . διαβαίνοντας*, *when X. saw them (on the point of) crossing* (to aid him). — *αὐτοὶ*, *(they) themselves*, i. e. Xenophon and his men. — *ἴνθεν καὶ ἐνθε σφών*, *on both sides of them*. — *διηγκυλωμένους*, *with hand on the thong (ἀγκύλη)*. — *ἐπιβεβλημένους* (*middle*), *with arrow on the string* (sc. τὸ τοξεύματα *ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς*): cf. v. 2. 12, *ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς* — *πρόσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ, far into the river* (G. 168).

29. *ψφῆ*, *ring with the thumb of the stone*.

Page 101. — *σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, signal the charge (to deceive the enemy)*. See § 32. — *ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δέρυ*, *facing about to the right*, belongs to the subjects of both *ἡγεύσθαι* and *θεῖν*, as is shown by its position: with *ἐπὶ δέρυ*, *towards the spear* (the spear being carried in the right hand), cf. *παρ'* *ἀσπίδα* in § 26. — *ὡς* (G. 266, N. 1). — *ὅτι . . . γίνηται*: *oratio obliqua*, as if εἴτε had preceded instead of *παρήγγελεν*. The direct form would be *ἅριστος ἦσται, ὃς δὲ . . . γίνηται* (G. 247, N. 1).

31. *ὡς . . . ἴκανός, well enough for mountain regions*: cf. *ut temporibus illis, for those days* (Cic.).

32. *σημαίνει* (sc. τὸ πολεμικόν): cf. § 29. The Greeks had been ordered to *retire* at this signal. — *τάναντίς* is cognate accus. with *στρέψαντες*.

33. *αἰσθόμενοι, perceiving that the Greeks were crossing*. — *καὶ . . . Ἐλλήνων, even when the Greeks were across the river*. — *φεύγοντες* (G. 280, N. 1).

34. *οἱ ἀπαντήσαντες, those who had come to the relief* (see § 27 and § 28). — *προσωτέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ, i. e. further than they should have gone*.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks proceed through Armenia (1), and come to a village containing a palace of the satrap (2). Beyond this they pass the sources of the Tigris and reach the river Teleboas (3). Tiribazus, the governor (4), proposes through an interpreter a treaty of peace, to which they agree (5, 6). They then proceed for three days, followed by Tiribazus, and come to a palace and villages (7), where they halt, on account of a snow-storm, and quarter themselves (8). Provisions are found in abundance; but word is brought that there is an army at hand (9), and the troops are again brought together (10). Encamping thus under arms for the night, another heavy snow falls (11–13), and the soldiers are again quartered in the villages (14). Democrates is sent out to reconnoitre (15), and returns with a captive (16), who says that he was out foraging (17), and that the army belongs to Tiribazus, who is preparing to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountain (18). The generals leave a guard behind, and with the captured man as guide (19) discover the enemy's camp and attack it (20), when the barbarians flee. Twenty horses and the satrap's tent are captured (21). The Greeks return to their own camp (22).

1. πεδίον ἄπαν, *a perfectly level country*: for the case of πεδίον and γηλόφους, see notes on i. 2. 20, and ii. 5. 18.

2. εἰς ἣν κάμην, for ἡ κάμη εἰς ἣν (G. 154), &c. — τύρσεις: cf. Lat. turris, Eng. *turret, tower*.

3. ὑπερῆλθον τὸς πηγῶν, κ. τ. λ.: here they crossed the mountain range which is the watershed between the Tigris and the Euphrates; the Teleboas (generally supposed to be the present *Kara-su*) flows into the Euphrates. “After the river Teleboas, there seems no one point in the march which can be identified with anything approaching to certainty. Nor have we any means even of determining the general line of route, apart from specific places, which they followed from the river Teleboas to Trebizond.” Grote.

Page 102.—4. ὑπαρχος: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — ἀνέβαλλεν = ἀνεβλ-βαλεν, *helped to mount*.

5. τοῖς ἀρχοντι (G. 186). — εἰς ἐπήκοον: cf. iii. 3. 1.

6. ἐφ' φ (G. 267). — αὐτός (G. 138, n. 8). — μήτε . . . μήτε . . . τε: cf. note on ii. 2. 8. — δύων δέοντο (G. 247): in direct form, δύων δὲ δέοντε.

8. χιῶν τολλή: this was in lat. 39°, at an elevation of four thousand feet; it was near the first of December. — ξωθεν, *in the morning*; lit. *from daybreak*: the opposite point of view is found in εἰς ξω, i. 7. 1, and εἰς ἐσπέραν, iii. 1. 3 (see notes).

9. λερεῖα, *cattle for slaughter* (orig. for sacrifice, here for food). — τῶν ἀποσκεδανυμένων τινές, *certain of the stragglers*. — κατέβοιεν, φάγοιτο: in direct discourse, κατέβοιεν and φάγετο.

10. συναγαγεῖν: subj. of ἀσφαλέσ-ειναι (without οὐκ), i. e. they thought that safety required them to collect the army again. — έδόκει διαιθριάζειν, *it seemed to be clearing up* (G. 134, n. 1 e): originally τὸν Δία was understood.

Page 103.—11. ἀλεινόν (G. 138, n. 2 c). — οὐτῷ μὴ παραρρείη: see παραρρέω; i. e. the snow kept all warm *from whom it did not fall off*.

12. ἐτόλμησε, undertook, had the courage. — γυμνός, i. e. without his mantle (ἱμάτιον): cf. i. 10. 3, and note. — ἀφελόμενος (sc. τὸ ξύλα), i. e. taking the work away from Xenophon.

13. ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν (sc. χρήμα): for ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν ἀμυγδαλῶν. — τερεβίνθινον, of the terebinth or turpentine-tree. — μύρον, fragrant oil, probably used as a perfume; while the various kinds of χρήμα were applied to increase the suppleness of the limbs and as protection against cold.

14. εἰς στέγας, under shelter (from the weather), is not a repetition of εἰς τὰς κώμας, which implies that they returned to *the same* villages which they had left (§§ 8–10). — ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας, under the open sky; sub dio, sub Iove; connect with κακῶς σκηνοῦντες, by camping ill.

15. Τημνίτην (a doubtful name): probably a man from Temnus (in Aeolis). — τὸ πυρά: see § 9. — τὰ μὴ δύτα, i. e. whatever were not facts, equivalent to a relative clause with indefinite antecedent, δ μὴ ἦν or εἰ τινα μὴ ἦν (G. 283, 4). — ὡς οὐκ δύτα, i. e. he reported such things as not being facts, and would have said οὐκ ἔστιν.

16. Παρευθέεις, i. e. on his return. — οὐκέ τι ιδεῖν, said that he had not seen: cf. notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 1. — σάγαρον (a Persian word), a battle-axe. — Ἀμαζόνες, i. e. in pictures and statues, with which the Greeks were familiar.

17. τὸ ποδαπός εἴη, i. e. *the question ποδαπός εἰ*; the expression is accusative with the passive ἐρωτόμενος (G. 197, 1, n. 2). — Πέρσης (G. 138, n. 8 b). — τὸ στράτευμα: by anticipation one of the objects of ἡράτων instead of being subject of εἴη. The accusative of the thing after verbs of asking (G. 164) may denote that about which any one is questioned, as well as that for which is asked.

18. παρεσκευάσθαι: why perfect? — ὡς belongs to ἐπιθησόμενον (G. 277, n. 2). — ὑπερβολῇ: cf. ὑπερβάλλον in § 20. — μοναχῇ, alone, lit. in a single way: cf. διχῇ, in two ways. — ἐνταῦθα: repeating ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ κ. τ. λ.

Page 104.—21. εἰ before ἀρτοκόπος belongs to φάσκοντες.

22. ἐπιθεσις (force of the suffix ?), i. e. some attack from Tiribazus.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The next day the Greeks pass the height where Tiribazus intended to attack them (1), and three days later cross the Euphrates (2). The third day after this a bitter wind blows from the north (3), which abates when they offer sacrifice. Many perish (4). The first who encamp build fires, which they share with those coming up late in return for food (5, 6). The next day the Greeks march on through the snow, and many suffer from bulimy (7, 8). Chirisophus comes to a village (9, 10), where he encamps with the van (11). The enemy harass the rear of the army, and some of the soldiers, being disabled and left behind, give up in despair (12–15). Xenophon tries to urge them forward (16);

but, failing in this, proceeds to terrify the enemy, who flee when attacked by the rear-guard (17, 18). He leaves those that are disabled with promises of relief on the next day, and going on finds nearly the whole army encamped in the snow without guards (19, 20). He himself encamps there, and at daybreak sends men to rouse the disabled (21). Communication is opened with Chirisophus (22), and the army is quartered in the surrounding villages (23). Description of the village assigned to Xenophon (24-27). He gets on friendly terms with its head man (28, 29), and the next day takes him to Chirisophus, visiting on the way the troops, whom he finds feasting and drinking (30-32). The two generals question the chief at length (33, 34). Xenophon returns with him to his own village, and appropriates the colts found there to the use of himself and the others (35, 36).

1. **ὅτη δύναντο** (G. 247): in the direct form **ὅτη δν δυνάμεθα**. See note on the similar construction with **ὅτε** or **ὡς** in i. 1. 6.

2. **Εὐφράτην**: this was the eastern branch, now called "Murad-su."

3. **διὰ . . . πεδίου**: we should say, *over a plain and through deep snow*. — **παρασάγγας πέντε** (vulg. **πεντεκαλέδεκα**): as a march of 15 parasangs (52 miles) seems incredible under the circumstances, many editors omit **πεντεκαλ**, leaving **δέκα**. **πέντε** is adopted here on the authority of one MS. — **τρίτος** (sc. **σταθμός**). — **ἀποκάλων**, *blasting* (here with cold): cf. Lat. *uro*.

4. **εἰπε σφαγάσασθαι**, *bade them sacrifice*; **ἔφη σφαγάσασθαι** would mean, *he said that he had sacrificed* (G. 260, 2, n. 1): **εἴπον** with the infinitive has the force of a verb of commanding (G. 202). — **σφαγάζεται** (middle): sc. **δέ μάντις**; or the verb may be passive and impersonal.

Page 105. — 5. **διεγένοντο . . . κάνοντες**, i. e. *they got through the night by keeping up a fire of wood* (cf. i. 10. 19: **ταῦτην . . . διεγένοντο**). — **εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν** (G. 225). — **τύποις**: the genitive commonly follows **μεταδίδωμι** (G. 170, 2), denoting the *whole* of which a part is given; the rare accusative denotes the *part* which is given. Hence a noun like **μέρος** after such verbs can be only in the accusative. — **ἄλλο τι εἰ τι**: **ἄλλο τι** being one of the objects of **μεταδοῖεν**, the common expression **εἰ τι ἄλλο** (cf. i. 5. 1) would have been ambiguous here after **εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν**.

6. **ἐνθα δή**, *thereupon*; but **ἐνθα δέ**, *and where*. — **ἴστε ἐπί**, *clear down to*: so **ἄχρι** and **μέχρι** can be used to emphasize **εἰς** or **ἐπί**.

7. **ἴβουλημάσσαν** (G. 130): from **ἴβου**-**λίμα** (**βοῦς** and **λίμος**), *ox-hunger, bulimy*, which was a disease in which the patient suffered from ravenous hunger, *hunger-faintness*. — **καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας**, *coming upon those who fell by the way* (i. e. in consequence of hunger-faintness).

8. **διδόντας**, *as givers*, i. e. to distribute the food: we should expect **δώσοντας** to express the purpose. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 109, 5².

9. **ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κάμης**, i. e. *who came from the village to fetch water*; the village-fountain being outside the wall. — **ἐρύματος**, *fortification* (**ἐρύμαι**, *to defend*).

10. **πορεύονται**, **εἴη**, **ἀπέχει**: all three verbs might have been opt. or all indic. (G. 243), and there is good MS. authority for **πορεύοντο** and **ἀπέχοντο**. — **ὅστον**, *about*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note.

11. ἐδυνήθησαν, were (still) able-bodied; or it may mean, were able to reach the village, as opposed to οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπιτελέσαν τὴν ὁδόν, below. But see τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα in § 12.

Page 106. — 12. διεφθαρμένοι . . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, with their eyes blinded by the snow: the acc. is retained from the (possible) active constr. διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῖς, to blind their eyes for them (G. 197, 1, N. 2); τοὺς δακτύλους is in the same construction after ἀποστεγπότες, which is passive in sense, having lost their toes by mortification. Cf. note on ii. 6. 1.

13. ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνου, help (or protection) against the snow: χιόνος is objective genitive, as we might say ἐπικουρεῖν χιόνα, like ἐπικουρεῖν χειμῶνα, to keep off winter (see v. 8. 25): so in Lat. defendere frigus. On the other hand, τῶν ποδῶν ἐπικούρημα (below) gives the more common use of the objective genitive, help to the feet. — ἐπορεύετο (G. 225, N. 1): there is good authority for the more regular πορεύοντο (like κινοῦτο, ἔχο, and ἴπολύοντο). — εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύσιτο, took off his shoes for the night; opposed to ὑποδεδέμενοι ἐκοιμάντο (§ 14), slept with their shoes on: δέω and λέω refer to tying and untying the leather straps (ιμάντες).

14. δσοι: the antecedent would be a genitive dependent on πόδας. — περιεπήγυνντο, froze on (their feet). — ἡσαν καρβάτιναι, (their shoes) were brogues: Hesychius calls them ἄγροικικὸν ὑπόδημα μονόδερμον. — νεοδάρτων (νέος and δέρω). — βιών, ox-hides: cf. Ἐλέφας, both elephant and ivory.

15. ἐκλελοιπένα (G. 109, 2), was wanting. — τετήκει (G. 101, 2, N. 2). — ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ, steaming in a dell. — οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι, i. e. said they were going no further; see notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 7.

16. ὀπισθοφύλακας (without τούς), some of the rear-guard. — πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ, by every art and device. — τελευτῶν, finally. — “So greatly was the army disorganized by wretchedness, that we hear of one case in which a soldier, ordered to carry a disabled comrade, disobeyed the order, and was about to bury him alive.” Grote. This story came out afterwards, when the charge was made against Xenophon that he had flogged his men (see v. 8. 8–11), which he did in a few cases. — δύνασθαι δύ: sc. ἔφασαν (G. 211).

17. εἰ τις δύνατο, if they could: cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — οἱ δέ (G. 143, 1, N. 2): cf. note on i. 9. 6. — ἀμφὶ . . . διαφέρμενοι, quarrelling about what they had, i. e. their booty (G. 153, N. 1): see § 12, ἀλλήλοις . . . αὐτῶν.

18. δσον δύναντο μέγιστον, i. e. as loud a shout as they could (G. 159, N. 2). — ἤκαν ἐντρόύς, threw themselves: they rushed down into the dell over the snow-banks. — οὐδεὶς . . . ἐφθέγξατο, i. e. not a sound was heard from them afterwards.

Page 107. — 19. ἐπ' αὐτούς, i. e. to get them. — ἔγκεκαλυμμένοις, wrapped up. — ἀνιστάσαν, tried to make them get up. — δτι . . . ὑποχωροῦεν, that those before them (on the road) did not make way for them: they said οὐδὲ ὑποχωροῦσιν.

20. δλον τὸ στράτευμα, i. e. what seemed to be the whole army; but Chirisophus with the van was already quartered in the village (§§ 9–11).

22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης (G. 168, n. 2; 170, 1): cf. note on i. 1. 5. — σκεψόμενος agrees with τυρᾶς implied with τῶν. — κομίζειν (G. 265).

24. πώλους: cf. Lat. pullus; Eng. foal. — ἑπτακαΐδεκα: this number is too small (see § 35), but correcting numerals by conjecture is unsatisfactory. — ἑνάτην ἡμέραν (G. 161, n.), *eight days before*.

25. κατάγειοι: *underground*: the description is said to correspond with the dwellings found in the Armenian highlands at the present day. “The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterraneous, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in.” Ainsworth, quoted by Watson. — τὸ μὲν στόμα ἀστέρ φρέατος (sc. δύ), i. e. *the mouth (or entrance) being like that of a well*, that is, *narrow* (opposed to εὐρέα): στόμα is in partitive apposition (G. 137, n. 2) with οἰκίαι; but in the clause with δέ the construction changes, and we have κάτω (below) δ' εὐρέαι for τὰ δὲ κάτω εὐρέα (sc. δύτα).

Page 108. — 26. οἶνος κρέβηνος, *barley-wine*, i. e. beer. — κρατήσων, *large bowls*, like the Greek mixing-vessels. — λιοχελεῖς, *floating on the top*, lit. *on a level with the brim* (λιός, *equal*, and χελος, *lip*). — κάλαμοι, *straws*, without joints (*γόνυτα*): with γόνυ cf. Lat. genu, Eng. knee.

27. οἵτις μύζει, *he had to suck*: οἴτις has here none of its common force of an apodosis (G. 222, n. 2). — διπότε διψήφι (G. 233). — ἄκρατος, *strong*, lit. *unmixed* (a priv. and κεράννυμι). — συμμαθόντι, *to one used to it* (G. 184, 5).

28. οὗτε στρέψοιτο . . . ἀπίστων: the direct discourse would be οὗτε στρέψῃσθι . . . τὴν τε οἰκίαν σου ἀντεμπλήσαντες . . . διπέμπειν. στρέψοιτο is middle, with passive meaning. — ἀντεμπλήσαντες, *filling in recompense*. — ήν ἀγαθόν π . . . φαίνηται, *if he should appear to have given them good guidance* (G. 159, n. 2). — ἕως¹, *until* (G. 239, 2).

29. ἐν πᾶσι ἀφόνοις, *amid an abundance of everything*: ἀ-φόνος = *without stint*. — ἐν δέσμαλμοις, *in sight*, i. e. *keeping an eye on them*.

30. ἀφίσαντα, i. e. the soldiers quartered in the villages *never let them go until*, etc. — παραθένειν (G. 240, 1 and 2).

31. οὐκ . . . οὐ, *and everywhere*.

32. φιλοφρονούμενός τῷ, *with friendly feelings towards any one*. — προπιέναι, *to drink (his) health*. — εἰλέκεν, *he would draw him*. — ἔνθεν . . . βοῦν, *whence he had to drink stooping, sucking like an ox*: we should expect βοῦς (sc. πίνει); βοῦν is attracted into the case of the subj. of πίνειν, as if the construction were ὥστε δὲ βοῦν πίνειν.

Page 109. — 33. βαρβαρικάς, *foreign, outlandish*. — ἀστέρ ἑνεοῖς, *as if deaf and dumb*; i. e. by signs, as they could not understand Greek.

34. οἱ Ἱπποι: the breed of horses in this region is still celebrated. — δασμός (G. 137, n. 4). — Χάλυβας: the people and the country have the same name: cf. Δελφοί. — η ἐη̄: indirect question for πῇ ἔστιν η δόδες;

35. πρὸς . . . οἰκέτας, *to his family* (i. e. the chief's), who were in their own village, where Xen. was quartered (§ 24 and § 28): for οἰκέτης, see note on ii. 3. 15. The reflexive ἔαντροῦ here refers to the object, not the subj., of the sentence, αὐτὸν being in a prominent position (G. 146, n. 1). —

ελήφα, i. e. at the time mentioned in iii. 3. 19; but cf. iv. 4. 21. — παλαιότερον (sc. ὄντα), *when he was rather old*, belongs to ελήφα. — ἀναθρέψαντι καταθύσα, i. e. *to sat him up and sacrifice him* (G. 265). — τῶν πώλων (sc. τινά).

CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: On the eighth day Chirisophus takes charge of the guide (1), who, after conducting them for three days (2), runs away within the night (3). The Greeks proceed to the river Phasis (4), but two days later find their way barred at a mountain pass by the Chalýbes, Taöchi, and Phasiāni (5). Chirisophus halts and orders the forces into line (6). He calls the generals and captains together, and proposes a council to decide upon their course (7, 8). Cleanor wishes to move at once openly upon the enemy (9), but the more cautious Xenopōn proposes that they attempt to seize an unguarded point of the mountain, stealing their way to it in the night (10–13). The word “stealing” is the occasion for a jest between himself and Chirisophus, and each exhorts the other to give proof of the soundness of his early education (14–16). Xenophon declares his readiness to undertake the enterprise (17) and predicts success (18), but Chirisophus proposes that others shall go (19). Three of the commanders accordingly volunteer, and arrange to light signal fires when they reach the top (20). Chirisophus makes a feint of leading the army against the enemy (21). When night comes on the detailed detachment goes forward and gets possession of the hill (22), and at daybreak proceeds along the heights, Chirisophus advancing in front (23). An engagement takes place and the enemy are defeated (24–26). The Greeks sacrifice and erect a trophy, and then go down into the plain beyond, where they find plenty of provisions (27).

1. τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδεσθι, *he gives him* (i. e. τὸν κωμάρχην) *as a guide*. — τοὺς . . . κωμάρχη (G. 184, 3, n. 4), i. e. *he leaves the chief's family behind* in their village. — Ἀμφιπολίτῃ: cf. i. 10. 7. — δπως . . . ἀποι: the thought of Xen. was δπως, ει καλῶς ἡγήσεται (sc. δ κωμάρχης), . . . ἀπι (G. 202. 4; 248, n.).

2. αὐτοῖς: cf. ii. 2. 8, and note. — λελυμένος: cf. iv. 2. 1, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες.

Page 110. — οὐκ εἰεν (sc. κώμας). — θῆσε δ' οὐ (G. 29, n. 1): this is added to account for the guide's escape, not to show the kindness of Chirisophus.

3. ἀποδράς φέχετο (G. 279, 4, n.). — ἀμέλεια, *neglect*, i. e. in letting the guide escape. — ἔχρητο: cf. ii. 5. 11, and note.

4. Φάσιν: the famous Colchian river Phasis, for which the Greeks probably mistook this stream, flows into the Euxine from the East. This was probably the upper part of the Araxes, flowing into the Caspian.

5. ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ἵπερβολῇ, *on the pass leading over to the plain*: cf. iv. 4. 18.

6. κατὰ κέρας δγων, *leading (his men) in column* (partic. of manner). — παράγεν, *to lead along, to bring into line*; the movement by which soldiers were brought into *line of battle* (φάλαγξ) from a column.

7. **ὅπως ἀγωνιούμεθα**, an object clause (G. 217) : compare **ὅπως γένοιτο** (§ 6), which is a final clause (G. 216, 1).

9. **προσγενέσθαι** (following *εἰκός*), *will join them* (G. 203, n. 2). In *Cyrop.* v. 3. 30, we have **οὐδέποτε εἰκός βουλήσεσθαι**. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, n. 3, and references.

10. **ὅπως μαχούμεθα** is in appos. with **τοῦτο** (G. 215, Rem.), and is the regular form of the object clause ; but **ὅπως λάβωμεν . . . ἀποβάλωμεν** (in appos. with **τοῦτο** below) is the less common form (G. 217, n. 1). — **τράῦμα** (Dor. and Ion. **τρῶμα**) : from **πιτράυκα (τρο-)**; cf. G. 129, 4 : 128, 3, n. 4.

Page 111. — 11. **τὸ δρός . . . τὸ δρόμενον** (G. 142, 2), *that part of the mountain which is visible* ; unusually emphatic position of **τὸ δρόμενον**. — **ἔφ** : *ἐπὶ* here denotes *extent*. — **οὐδαμοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ή**, *nowhere else than* : **ἀλλ'** ή for **ἄλλο ή**, *other than, except*, has but one accent, so that **ἀλλ'** looks like the elided form of **ἄλλα**. — **δρόους τι**, *some part of the mountain*. — **κλέψαι λαθόντας**, *to surprise by stealth* : here the idea of **κλέψαι**, *to take (like a thief)*, is more prominent than it would be in the more common and nearly equivalent idiom **κλέψαντας λαθεῖν** (G. 279, 4). The same is true of **ἀρπάσαι φθάναντας**, *to seize in advance*, compared with **ἀρπάσαντας φθάσαι**, *to be beforehand in seizing*.

12. **δρόντον λέναι**, *to march up hill* ; **δραλλὲς (λέναι)**, *to march over level ground* (G. 159, N. 5) : cf. note on i. 2. 20. — **ἴνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν**, *on both sides of us*. — **τὸ πρὸ ποδῶν**, i. e. *what is immediately before him*. — **μεθ' ἡμέραν**, *by day* ; lit. *after (the coming of) day* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — **τοῖς ποστίν** : to be taken with **τραχεῖα** (G. 185). — **ἰούσιν** and **βαλλομένους** (G. 184, 5) : cf. **προτίσιν**, iii. 2. 22 ; and **τειρωμένους**, iv. 3. 6. — **κεφαλὰς** (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

13. **ἔξον**, *since it is in our power* (G. 277, 2 ; 278, 2). — **ἄς** (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — **αἰσθησιν παρέχειν**, i. e. *betray ourselves*. — **δοκούμεν** **δ'** **ἄν** . . . **χρῆσθαι**, *it seems to me that we should find*, etc. : **ἄν** belongs to **χρῆσθαι** (= **χρώμεθα** **ἄν**), and is repeated because the sentence is long (G. 212, 2). We translate **δοκούμεν** impersonally merely that we may render the infin. by a finite verb, and so give the force of **ἄν**. See note on ii. 5. 18. The protasis is in **προσποιούμενοι** (= *εἰ προσποιούμεθα*), *if we should make a feint* (G. 226, 1). — **έρημοτέροι**, *with fewer defenders*. — **μένοιεν** : **ἄν** is understood from the preceding sentence, although this case hardly comes under the general principle (G. 212, 4).

14. **συμβάλλομεν** (sc. **λόγους**), i. e. *give my ideas*. — **τῶν δμοίων**, *equal citizens or peers*, a name given to the Dorian aristocracy of Sparta. — **ἐκ πατέων** : as we say, *from a child*. — **ὅτα μὴ κωλύει** : conditional (G. 232, 1).

15. **ἅρα**, *accordingly*. — **μάλα** qualifies **καιρός ἐστιν** : *a very fit time*. — **κλέπτοντες τοῦ δρόου** (G. 170, 1) ; cf. **δρόους κλέψαι τι** (§ 11).

16. **ἀλλὰ μέντοι** (*more emphatic than ἀλλά*, *but really*). — **δαινοὺς** **κλέπτειν**, i. e. *formidable stealers*. — **δαινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου** : the penalty of embezzlement might be death. — **καὶ μέντοι**, *and in truth*. — **ὑμῖν δρχαν**, *to be your rulers* (G. 184, 3, N. 4).

Page 112. — 17. **κλωπῶν** : referring to the preceding jokes on **κλωπή**. — **τοῦτον καὶ πινθάνομαι**, *I learn from them also*, i. e. *besides other things*.

(G. 171, 2, n. 1). — νέμεται αἴγι καὶ βούσιν, *it is grazed by goats and cattle* (instrum. dat.): this corresponds to an act. constr. νέμουσι τὸ δρός αἴγι (the herdsmen being the subj.). Derivation of αἴγι? — βατά (sc. τὰ χωρία, *passable*; but see note on βάσιμα and ἀβατά, iii. 4. 49).

18. ἀπίζω μενεῖν (G. 203, n. 2). — ἐν τῷ ὁροφῃ, *on a level with them*. — ήμεν . . . ήσον (G. 186), *to the same level with us*.

19. καὶ, ἀλλά: observe the spirit of these abrupt connectives.

20. σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο κάσιν (G. 203, n. 2): cf. συντίθενται φυλάττεαν . . . συμβοηθήσαν, iv. 2. 1, and note. — ὅποτε ἔχοιεν (G. 248, 1).

21. ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου, *after breakfast*. — ὡς μάλιστα belongs to δοκοῖν.

23. κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήσεαν, *advanced along the heights*; cf. τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα (§ 24).

24. τὸ πολὺ, *the main part*. — τοὺς πολλούς, i. e. *the two main bodies*. — ἀλλήλων: following ὅμοι (G. 182, 2), which generally takes the dative.

Page 113. — 26. τὸ ἄνω (sc. μέρος), i. e. *their men above*: cf. § 24.

27. στησάμενοι (G. 199, n. 1). — γεμούσας, *full*, generally *loaded* (said of ships).

CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: They march into the country of the Taöchi; and provisions fail, for the inhabitants dwell wholly in strongholds (1). One of these the Greeks attack, but unsuccessfully (2). It is agreed, however, that the place, to which there is but one approach which the enemy keep clear of the Greeks by rolling down stones, must be taken (3, 4). Xenophon suggests the stratagem of going as far in as possible under protection of the pine-trees there, provoking an attack from the enemy, and rushing into the stronghold after their ammunition is exhausted (5–7). A body of seventy men go forward (8), and the rest wait to see what the result will be (9). The enemy waste their only means of defence (10); and the captains striving with one another for the honor of entering the place first, the stronghold is finally taken (11, 12). The men and women throw themselves over the precipice, leaving their flocks in possession of the Greeks (13, 14). The latter now advance for seven days through the territory of the Chalýbes (whose armor and peculiar customs in war are described), getting no provisions from the country (15–17). They then reach the Harpásus, pass through the territory of the Scythini (18), and arrive at the city of Gymnias, where they obtain a guide (19), who promises to bring them within sight of the sea within five days or forfeit his life (20). On the fifth day they reach Mt. Theches, from which they can discern the sea, and the men raise a great shout (21). Xenophon, being in the rear, thinks an attack has been made by the enemy (22, 23), but as he comes nearer he hears the soldiers shouting “The Sea! The Sea!” (24). They build upon the height a great mound of stones surmounted by hides, staves, and captured shields (25, 26), and afterwards dismiss the guide with rich presents (27).

1. **Taōxous:** a tribe of mountaineers, still known among their kindred by the name of Tao.—ἐν οἷς . . . ἀνακεκομισμένοι, *where they also carried and kept all their provisions* (i. e. besides using them for defence).

2. **αὐτόσε** (to avoid *els* δ), *into which* (G. 156; cf. 61). — εἴθιδες ἤκουεν (G. 277, N. 1).

3. **Εἰς καλόν**, *in the nick of time*. — οὐκέτι implies a future, as apod. to εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1).

4. **εἰσελθεῖν** (G. 263, 1): we might have had μὴ εἰσελθεῖν. — Μία... δρᾶς, *the only passage is this one which you see*; the construction is αὗτη (sc. ἡ πάροδος) ἣν δρᾶς έστι μία πάροδος. Cf. iv. 1. 20, and note. — οὕτω διατίθεται, *is served thus*. — σκελή, πλευράς: after the passive συντετριμένους (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

5. **ἀναλόσωσιν, use up**. — ἀλλο τι ἢ... παρίέναι, *is there anything to prevent us from passing by?* ἀλλο τι ἢ (nonne) is an interrogative implying an affirmative answer (G. 282, 3); so that this question means, literally, *Is anything else (the case) than (this, that) nothing prevents, etc.?* — εἰ μὴ, nisi, except (sc. δρῶμεν).

Page 114. — 6. **τρία ἡμίπλεθρα**, i. e. 150 feet. — βαλλομένους, *under fire* (of stones). — **διαλεπόντας**, *scattered*. — **ἀνθ' ὅν**, *behind which*. — φερομένων, *flying through the air*.

7. **πολλοί** (pred.), *in great numbers*. — **αὐτὸν τὸ δέον**, *the very thing we want*. — **ένθεν**, *(to the point) from which*. — **μικρόν τι**, i. e. the fifty feet called **τὸ λοιπόν** in § 6.

8. **ἡγεμονία, precedence**. — **ώς έδύνατο**, *as best he could*.

10. **ἐπεὶ... φέροντο** (G. 233). — **δαμαξαί**, *(here) cart-loads*.

11. **μὴ οὐ πρώτος παραδράμοι** (G. 215, N. 1), i. e. *that he might not get by first*.

Page 115. — 12. **αὐτοῦ τῆς ἔτνος**, *the rim of his shield* (G. 171, 1): **ἔτνος** is a poetic word.

13. **παιδία** (see G. 129, 8). — **ώσταίτως**: adv. of ὁ **αὐτός**. — **Στυμφάλιος**: of Stymphalus in Arcadia, famous in the story of Hercules. — **ώς ρύψοντα** (G. 277, N. 2): **ώς** refers to **τινά** as the person whose intention is expressed.

15. **πτερύγων**, *flaps* (generally of leather covered with metal) at the bottom of the corselet. — **σπάρτα** **έστραμμένα**, *plaited cords forming a fringe*.

16. **μαχαλίον**: for the suffix, cf. **παιδία** in § 13. — **ὅστον ξυλίην**, *about as long as a Spartan dagger*: **ξυλίην** is accus. by a peculiar attraction, where we should expect **ξυλίη** (sc. έστι). — **ἄν... δύναντο** (G. 233): **έστραττον** refers to a custom. — **ἀποτέμνοντες... ἐπορεύοντο**, i. e. *they used to cut off their heads* (i. e. **ῶν κρατεῖν δύναντο**) *and carry them along on their march*: **ἄν** belongs (grammatically) to **ἐπορεύοντο** (G. 206), but the iterative force extends to **ἀποτέμνοντες**; we might have had **ἀπέτεμνον ἄν** *καὶ ἐπορεύοντο*. — **ὅπότε... ξμελλον**, i. e. *whenever they were to be seen by the enemy*. — **μίαν λόγχην ἔχον**, i. e. *with a sharp point at only one end*: the Greek spears were sharpened also at the butt, so as to stick in the ground. **λόγχη** is properly the *sharp point* of a spear, but is often used for the whole weapon. **δόρι** is the more common word for *spear* (as a whole), though this is properly the *wooden shaft*, **δόρυ** and **δρῦ** being related to

our word *tree*. — πολισμασιν: derived from πολίζω, *to build* (prop. a city, πόλις); cf. G. 129, 4.

17. ἐν τούτοις makes the storing of provisions *in* the strongholds more prominent than the carrying them *into* these. Krüger remarks that this use of ἐν is confined, in Attic Greek, to the perfect and pluperfect (which mark the action as *completed*) and to verbs like πιθέναι. Cf. ἐν οἷς . . . εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι in § 1. — διετράφησαν: a return to the independent sentence, as if ὥστε had not preceded: cf. ὑπώπτευον in iv. 2. 15. — τοῖς κτήνεσιν &: the assimilation is here omitted.

Page 116. — 19. διὰ . . . χάρας, *through the country of their own enemies*: πολέμως sometimes (as here) governs the genitive, chiefly (and originally) when it has the force of a substantive: cf. πρὸς τοὺς ἔκεινους ἔχθιστους, iii. 2. 5. — ὅπως δύο: optative after an historic present.

20. ἔξει . . . δύνονται (G. 247). — εἰ δὲ μή: cf. note on ii. 2. 1. — ἐπηγ- γελαστο, *agreed*. — τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν (sc. χάραν): cf. note on § 19.

22. δασεῶν . . . ὠμοβόεια, *covered with raw hides of shaggy oxen*: βοῶν is gen. of material.

23. οἱ δὲ ἐπιόντες, *those who successively came up*; so τοὺς δὲ βοῶντας, *those who successively raised the shout*.

24. παρεβοήθει, *came up to the rescue*, thinking it was an attack of the enemy (§ 22). — παρεγγυάντων, *passing the word along*: παρεγγυᾶν is properly to hand over something as a pledge (ἔγγον).

Page 117. — 25. οὗτος δῆ παρεγγυήσαντος, *some one, whoever he may have been, giving the word*: οὗτος always has this indefinite sense when it is joined with -ουν (οὗτοισούν), rarely with δῆ (as here). In v. 2. 24, we have οὗτοι δῆ ἐνάψαντος, *some one or other setting it on fire*.

26. κατέτεμε: that the natives might not remove them: cf. iv. 6. 26.

27. δαρεικὸς δέκα: about \$54.00. See note on i. 7. 18. — δακτυλίους: "The free Greek, if not of the very poorest class, wore a ring, not only as an ornament, but as a signet to attest his signature, or for making secure his property." Becker's *Charicles*.

CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks advance through the country of the Macrōnes, and come to a river bordered with trees, which they cut down (1, 2). The natives are drawn up in warlike array on the other side (3). Xenophon instructs a peltast, who believes the country to be his birthplace, to ask the people who they are and why they are hostile (4, 5). After mutual explanations, pledges are exchanged (6, 7); and the Macrōnes assist the Greeks in crossing the river, and conduct them to the territory of the Colchians (8). These, drawn up upon a mountain, oppose their entrance into the country; and the generals deliberate (9). Xenophon proposes a plan of attack by column and not by phalanx (10-13), which is approved. After the troops are disposed, he rides from wing to wing and encourages the soldiers to overcome the last obstacle that lies between them and their long-desired goal (14). There are eighty companies of

hoplites, besides light-armed troops (15). They make their vows to the Gods, sing the paean, and move forward with Chirisophus and Xenophon at the two extremes (16). The enemy's line is drawn apart, and the Greeks at the centre rush to the summit (17, 18). The enemy give way, and the Greeks encamp in villages (19), where many of the soldiers are made sick by eating honey (20, 21). A two days' march brings them to Trapezus, a Greek city on the Euxine, where they remain thirty days, making incursions into the country of the Colchians (22). The people of Trapezus receive them hospitably (23), and negotiate with them in behalf of the nearer Colchians (24). The Greeks make the sacrifice they had vowed to the Gods, and celebrate games (25-28).

2. ὑπερδέξιον, *lying high on the right*: cf. iii. 4. 37; this word commonly means *high* (with no reference to the side). Liddell and Scott explain it here as = ἐπιδέξιος, *on the right*. Another reading here is ὑπέρ δεξιῶν, *over the right*, in which sense ὑπερδέξιον is here explained; cf. οἱ ἀριστεράς, *below*. — οὐλοὶ χαλεπότατον: like ὡς (or δτο) χαλεπότατον. — ὁ ὄργων, *the frontier stream*: cf. Eng. *horizon*. — Εἴτε διαβήναι, *they had to pass*. — δένδροις: more common than the reg. dat. δένδροις. — ἔκοπτον: probably to clear the way, and also to make a road: see § 8.

3. εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔριπτον, i. e. to frighten the Greeks. — ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν (G. 159, n. 2).

4. δεδουλευκέναι: δουλεύω is *to be a slave*, but δουλώω is *to enslave*. (See G. 130, n. 3.) — εἰ μή τι κωλύει (G. 221), *if there is nothing to hinder* (a present supposition): see the answer, οὐδὲν κωλύει, in § 5.

Page 118. — 5. ἐρωτήσαντος (sc. αὐτοῦ). — ἀντιτετάχαται: Ionic perfect (G. 119, 3; 118, 5, N.).

7. εἰ δοῖεν διν (indir. quest.), *whether they would give*; they asked δοῖητε διν; (G. 245).

8. συνεζηκόποντον: cf. § 2. — ὅδὸν ἀδοκούον (G. 159), *they worked on the road*. — μέσοις (G. 142, 4, N. 4).

9. βουλεύσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν, i. e. *to come together and consult* (G. 138, n. 8), as if it had been συλλεγῆναι καὶ βουλεύσασθαι. — δικαὶοις ἀγωνιῶνται (G. 217).

10. πανόραντας . . . ποιήσαι, *that they should give up the phalanx, and should form the companies in columns*. — τῇ μὲν, τῇ δὲ, *here, there*.

11. ἐπὶ πολλούς, *many (men) in depth*, implying a movement into this order; below, ἐπὶ διλύων, *few in depth*, (the more common construction) refers to the order in which they then were. The two suppositions in ἢ μὲν . . . δὲ . . . ἵστε include the only possible ways of marching ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, and Xen. gives objections to both. — περιττεύσουσιν ἥμῶν, *will outflank us* (G. 175, 2). — τοῖς περιττοῖς, i. e. *those by whom they will outflank us*. — χρήσονται . . . βούλωνται, i. e. we shall be at their mercy. — οὐδὲν διν εἴη has two protases, both future, but of different forms: see *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 1. — ἀθρόων, *in a mass*: predicate with ἐμπεσόντων.

Page 119. — 12. τοσοῦτον . . . λόχοις, *to cover sufficient ground with the companies by leaving spaces between them*. — τοσοῦτον . . . δσον, *so much*

that, sufficient, takes the infinitive as an adjective (*Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, n. 1): the idea is, *to cover ground enough to have the outer companies get beyond the enemy's wings*. See note on δρόθλοις τοῖς λόχοις on iv. 2. 11. — οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν, i. e. οἱ λοχαγοί. — πρώτον for πρώτοι, which is perhaps necessary here: see § 18.

13. τὸ διαλεῖπον, the interval between the columns: cf. τὸ διέχον, iii. 4. 22. — οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μένη, not a man will stand his ground for a moment (G. 257): the compounds of οὐ and μή (as here) can be used in these emphatic future expressions.

14. ἐμποδὸν τὸ μὴ εἶναι, in the way of our being (G. 263, 2). — ὥμοὺς καταφαγέν, devour (them) raw, a common expression, rather stronger than our cut them in pieces or gobble them up: cf. II. iv. 35, ὥμὸν βεβράθοις Πρέαμον Πριάμοισι τε παιδαῖς δὲλλοις τε Τρῷος.

16. έξω γενόμενοι, i. e. with a view to outflanking the enemy.

17. ἀντιπαραθέντες, i. e. hastening along (their own line) to meet them—κενόν, empty, i. e. without men enough.

Page 120.—19. ὡς ἤργαντο θεῖν, i. e. when the targeteers began to run (§ 18).

20. τὰ μὲν δῆλα, in other matters (G. 160, 1), opposed to τὰ δὲ σμήνη (= ἔσμοι), bees. — θαυμασαν, found strange, is emphasized by καὶ, which has no exact English equivalent. — τῶν κηρύκων (G. 170, 1; cf. 171, 2). — κάτω διεχάρει αὐτοῖς, i. e. they had a diarrhoea διεχάρει is impersonal. — ἀποθηκουσιν: dative of the partic., in same construction as μεθύνοντιν and μανούμενοις.

21. ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης (G. 277, n. 3), as if they had suffered a defeat: in full, ὥσπερ ἂν ἦκεντο εἰ τροπὴ γεγένητο, as they would have lain, if they had suffered a defeat (lit. rout), referring to the disheartened condition of a defeated army. — που, somewhere, makes τὴν αὐτὴν less definite. — ἀνεφρόνουν, began to come to their senses. — ἀνίσταντο: opposed to ἦκεντο. — φαρμακοποιίας (φάρμακον, a drug, and ποίω, to drink), being drugged (W. 54, 4, 3, γ): for the suffix, cf. θυσίαν in § 25. The idea is, the men recovered from the effects of eating the honey as they would have done from the effects of drugging or poisoning. “Most modern travellers attest the existence, in these regions, of honey intoxicating and poisonous, such as Xenophon describes. They point out the *Azalea Pontica* as the flower from which the bees imbibe this peculiar quality. Professor Koch, however, states that after careful inquiries he could find no trace of any such.” Grote.

22. Τραπεζοῦντα: the modern Trebizond. — Σινωπέων, the people of Sinope, a Greek city on the coast of Paphlagonia.

24. συνδιεμπάττοντο (sc. τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), they negotiated with the Greeks. — ὑπέρ, in behalf of.

25. ἔκαντο: cf. iii. 2. 9. — ίκανοι ἀποθύσαι: cf. ίκανότερα φέρειν, iii.

1. 23. — Σερῆπι (G. 129, 2 b). — ἡγεμόσυνα (found only here), thank-offerings for safe guidance, made to Ἡραλῆς Ἡγεμόνα; the wanderings of Hercules were believed to give him special sympathy with wanderers.

Page 121. — έφυγε οἰκοθέν, was banished from home. — ἀκων (Hom. δέκων, from α- and ἐκών), accidentally. The Greeks looked upon a person who had caused the death of another, even by accident, as a polluted person, and he was obliged to leave the country, at least for a time. The law of Athens — a relic of the Draconic legislation, usually famous for its severity — provided that a person who had committed involuntary homicide should leave the country within an appointed time and by a prescribed road, and should remain in exile until he should become reconciled with the family of the person whom he had killed ; but the law protected him in his departure and during his absence, so far as it could, and his property was not confiscated like that of persons condemned to perpetual banishment. Even inanimate objects which had caused the death of a person through no human agency, or when the agent was unknown, were, according to the Draconic law, solemnly tried before the court at the Prytaneum, and on conviction formally cast out of the country as polluted. — ἐπιμεληθήναι, προστατήσαι : infinitives of purpose after εἴλονται (G. 265).

26. τὰ δέρματα, the hides of the victims (§ 25), which were to be offered as prizes in the games. — δπον . . . εη̄ : the direct words of the command would have been δπον πεποικας (G. 248, 1). — δρόμον, race-course (from δραμ-, a stem of τρέχω) : cf. ιππόδρομος, hippodrome. — τρέχεν, for running (G. 261, 2). — δπον δν τις βούληται, wherever any one shall please : the future apod. is found in τρέχεν. — ούτως, like this : placed emphatically after the adjectives which it qualifies. — Μᾶλλον τι ἀνάστεραι, will hurt himself rather more, and so they will try harder to keep on their feet; as if this were a recommendation of the spot for a race-course.

27. στάδιον : cognate accus. with ήγωνίζοντο ; like δολιχον with ήθον, and πάλην, etc. with ήγωνίζοντο understood. — τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, the greater part (being) of the number of the captives, appos. to ταῖς. — δολιχον (noun), the long race, variously estimated from six to twenty-four stadia in length, probably variable. The adj. δολιχός (oxytone), long, appears in the Homeric δολιχόστικον ήγος. The δολιχοδρόμος ran several times round the ordinary στάδιον : for the stadium, see note on i. 4. 1. — παγκράτιον, double (lit. complete) contest, one which combined both πάλη and πυγμή. — κατέβησαν, entered (the contest) : cf. Lat. descendere ad Olympia.

28. αὐτόύς, i. e. the horses : object of δγειν. — ἀλάσαντας and ἀναστρέψαντας agree with τούς ίμμέας understood, the subject of δγειν. — τὸν βωμόν, the stand, probably a mound of turf, to mark the starting-place in the race.

For an account of the further fortunes of the Greek army, see the Prefatory Note, pp. 2 and 3.

HELLENICA.

[Book II.]

THE Peloponnesian War lasted twenty-seven years, from b. c. 431 to 404, of which the first twenty are included in the narrative of Thucydides, and the remainder in the Hellenica of Xenophon. It arose from the fear and jealousy felt by Sparta and other Greek states at the power and glory of the Athenian Empire, aided by the uneasiness of the subject allies of Athens herself under what they believed to be an oppressive rule. Since the formation of the confederacy of Delos in 477 b. c. — which was a defensive union of voluntary allies under Athens as presiding city, made to secure the Aegean against the possibility of another Persian invasion, — the maritime power of Athens had steadily increased, and the smaller states had gradually been changed from independent allies to subjects of an imperial city. This change is well explained in Chapters XLIV. and XLV. of Grote's History of Greece. The splendor of Athens reached its height under Pericles, the most illustrious of her statesmen (who died in 429 b. c.); and her Dorian neighbors in Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Thebes were now ready to combine for her destruction. In 432 b. c. the disputes between Corinth and Athens about the Corinthian colonies of Corcyra and Potidaea gave a plausible pretext for war, and war was at once declared. But, as Thucydides tells us, the war arose chiefly from the alarm felt by Sparta at the extent of the Athenian power, and her dread of its further increase. The war began in the spring of 431 b. c.; and it ended in the spring of 404 b. c. with the surrender of Athens, which is described in the first extract from the Hellenica. The power of Athens had been seriously crippled by the disastrous expedition to Syracuse (b. c. 415–413); it was finally broken by the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, as related in the chapter immediately preceding the narrative here given.

Aegospotami, or Goat's River, was a station on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite the Asiatic town of Lampsacus, which had just been captured by Lysander, the Spartan commander. It was "an open beach, without harbor, without good anchorage, without either houses or inhabitants or supplies"; and was chosen by the Athenian commander, merely to compel Lysander to an engagement. Each morning the fleet would cross the strait in line of battle, but the Spartan forces kept close under shelter of their port. Each day it withdrew to its anchorage, followed only by a few scout-boats to watch the disembarking; and then the men would stray on

shore for provisions, as far as Sestos, a few miles below. For five days the same scene was repeated. In vain Alcibiades, then living in exile near by, warned the generals of the exposed condition of their fleet, and urged that they should at least fall back to the safe and friendly harbor of Sestos; he was dismissed with the taunt that they were now in command, not he. "At length, on the fifth day, Lysander ordered the scout-ships, which he sent forth to watch the Athenians on their return, to hoist a bright shield as a signal as soon as they should see the ships at their anchorage, and the crews ashore in quest of their meal." The moment he beheld this welcome signal, he gave orders to his entire fleet to row across the strait as swiftly as possible, while the land forces marched along the strand in case of need. The fleet was taken by complete surprise. A squadron of twelve vessels under Conon, with the sacred ship called *Paralos*, escaped. All the remainder, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, were captured on the shore, defenceless, and seemingly without the least attempt on the part of any one to resist. This sweeping victory was won without the loss of a ship, almost without the loss of a man. Of more than thirty thousand prisoners, all the Athenians, some three or four thousand, were put to death. It had been charged against them that they had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all their prisoners; and one of their generals, Philocles, had put to death the captured crews of two ships, allies of the Lacedaemonians, by hurling them headlong from a precipice. Charges like these, at the end of a long and obstinate war, account for the vindictive and bitter temper of the conquerors. (See Grote, Ch. LXV.)

The battle at Aegospotami was fought in September, b. c. 405. Byzantium surrendered directly after; Lysander permitting its garrison, with other Athenians found there or elsewhere, to sail to Athens, "but nowhere else," says Xenophon, "for he knew that the more there were gathered in the city and Piraeus, the sooner they would be brought to straits by famine."

II. 3. Παράλου: the *Paralos* ("Seaboard") and the *Salaminia* were two sacred vessels maintained by Athens, and used in the service of the government. They carried deputations to the sacred festivals, and embassies; and were sometimes used to bring state criminals to Athens, as in the case of Alcibiades in 415 b. c. — νυκτός (G. 179, 1). — ἡ ξυρφόρα (= συρφόρα), the disaster to the fleet at Aegospotami: ξύν is often used for σύν in the older Attic. — **Παραίως**, the Piraeus was the principal port of Athens; it was fortified, and connected with the city (*δοτύ*) which was four and a half miles distant by the two long walls of Pericles. (See the plan at the end of the volume.) — δέ τερος . . . παραγγέλλων: we should expect the gen. absol., but the nominative is in apposition with the

nominative implied in the verbal noun οἰμογή (as if φύων had been used).

Page 122.—πενθοῦντες, agreeing with the subject implied in οὐδεῖς, as if it had been, *all were sleepless*. — πελσοῦσαι, *that they were to suffer* (G. 246). — οὐα ἐποίησαν: see G. 247 (last example) and N. 2. — Μηλλόις: Melos, a Spartan colony, had been subjugated by Athens in 416 B. C.; the men of military age were put to death, and the women and children were enslaved.

4. Έδοξε, *they voted*, lit. *it pleased them*: the expression is the same which was used in the Athenian decrees, Έδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ. — ἀποχώσαι (v. ἀποχώννυμι), *to block the channel*. — περὶ ταῦτα, *thus employed*.

5. ναυσίν (G. 188, 5). — κατεσκευάσατο, *established*, i. e. in the form of “an oligarchy of ten native citizens, chosen from among his most daring and unscrupulous partisans, to govern in conjunction with the Lacedaemonian harmost.” — τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾳκῆς, often without χωρία, a common expression for the coast of Thrace.

6. ἀφειστήκει, *had (already) revolted*. — Ἀθηναῖον (gen. governed by ἀπο- in ἀφειστήκει, G. 193), *from the Athenians*. — σφαγὴς . . . ποιήσαντες, *having made a massacre of the aristocrats*: this massacre took place eight years before, but was recent enough to forbid the Samians to hope for mercy.

7. Δεκέλειαν: a post in Attica, whence Agis, the Spartan king, was now threatening the city. — δτι: understand λέγοντάς τινας, or ἀγγελλούντας after έπειψε. — προσπλεῖ (G. 243). — τοῦ ἑτέρου, *the other* of the two kings, Agis being one.

8. ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῷ καλούμενῷ γυμνασίῳ, the common reading, would be an unusual expression for *in the gymnasium called the Academy*. Perhaps we may insert a comma after Ἀκαδημίᾳ, and take the following words in apposition with Ἀκαδημίᾳ, *in the Academy, viz. in the gymnasium thus named*. Many scholars consider the last three words as an interpolation. The Academy (i. e. the grove of the hero Academus) was northwest of the city, on the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. It was afterwards made famous by Plato, who used it as his place of instruction; and its name is thus a familiar word in all modern languages.

9. Αἴγιναν: in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B. C.), the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans with their families from their island, and the Spartans allowed them to settle in Thyrea. — ἀπδώκε implies that Lysander restored Aegina to its former inhabitants. — δσους έδύνατο πλείστους, *the greatest number which he was able (to collect)*, like ὡς πλείστους or δτι πλείστους. — ὡς αὕτως, *likewise*, adv. of δ αὗτός, *the same*. — Μηλλόις: see note on § 3 above. — τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. χάρας (G. 141, N. 4). — πρὸς τὸν Παραυᾶ, he came to the Piraeus and anchored there.

10. τὸ χρή ποιεῖν (G. 243).

Page 123.—**δύτων** (G. 277, 2.) — **σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν**, *security against suffering*, the μὴ strengthening the negative idea (of prevention) implied in **σωτηρίαν** (G. 263, 1). — **Δ... μικροτολίτας**, *what they had not done for punishment, but had done unjustly* (**τῇδικουν**) *through insolence to men of the small states*: Δ is direct object of **τροίσαν** and cognate object of **τῇδικουν**. — **οὐδὲ' ἐπὶ μιᾶς** more emphatic than **ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ**. — **ἐκείνους**, the Lacedaemonians.

11. **ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες**: they passed a vote of amnesty, *restoring to full civic rights* all who had forfeited any of those rights (i. e. who had become **ἀτίμοι**) either as public debtors or by sentence of the law. After this vote, the citizens met in the acropolis and pledged themselves to harmony. — **ἀποθησκόντων** (G. 277, 5.) — **ἔχοντες**, *keeping*. — **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, *on these conditions*.

12. **εἶναι**, sc. **ἴφη**. — **κύριος αὐτός** (G. 136, N. 3 a) : **αὐτός** is adjective pronoun, *himself* (145, 1).

13. **πληστὸν τῆς Λακωνικῆς**: as Sellasia is generally said to be *in* Laconia, **πληστὸν** should perhaps be omitted here. — **οἱα**, sc. **τοιαῦτα**. — **αὐτόθεν**, *instantly*. — **εἰ δέονται** (G. 247). — **τι**, *at all*. — **κάλλιον** (G. 75).

14. **ἥκον** (G. 200, N. 3). — **ἐνέπεσε**, v. **ἔμπιπτω**. — **ἔως ἂν πέμπωσιν**, *while they should be sending* (G. 247; 202, 1) : **ἔως πέμποιεν** might have been used.

15. **Δακεδαιμονίους**, dat. with **εἵρηνην ποιεῖσθαι** (G. 186, N. 1). — **ἴφ' οἷς προεκαλούντο**, *on the terms which they offered* (G. 153, N. 1). — **ἐκάτερον**, i. e. *each of the two long walls leading to the Piraeus*; see note on § 20, below. — **μὴ ξένια** depends on the verbal force of **ψήφισμα** (G. 261, 1, N.).

16. **εἰ βούλονται**, *if they wished* (G. 247) : the direct form of the sentence following **ὅτι** would be, **εἰ βούλεσθε με πέμψαι**, **ἥσω εἰδὼς πότερον ἀντέχουσι**, &c. — **Δακεδαιμονίους** is by *anticipation* object of **εἰδός**, instead of being subj. nominative of **ἀντέχουσι**. — Η connects **βούλόμενον** (G. 277, 2) to **πιστεῖς ἔνεκα** (*in order to secure good faith*).

Page 124.—**ὅτι τις λέγοι**, *whatever any one might propose* (G. 248). — **ὁμολογήσειν** (G. 202, 3, N.).

17. **τέως**, *for some time*. — **κατέχοι** and **κελεύοι** are instances of the rare imperfect optative, representing **κατεῖχε** and **ἔκελευε** of the direct discourse, which would regularly be retained in such cases (G. 243, N. 1). — **εἶναι**, sc. **ἴφη**. — **κύριος** (G. 136, N. 3 a). — **ῶν ἐρωτώτῳ**, *of what he* (Lysander) *was asked* (G. 153, N. 1), the direct form being **ῶν ἐρωτώμαι** (indic.). — **δέκατος αὐτός**, a common expression for *one of ten*, generally applied to the principal person in the number mentioned.

18. **ἀγγελούντα** (G. 277, 3) **ὅτι ἀπεκρίνατο**, *to inform them that he had replied*, &c. (the message was **ἀπεκρίνατο Δίσανδρος**, &c.).

19. **ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ**, *in what capacity*. — **καλεῖν ἐκέλευον**, *gave orders to*

summon them. — μὴ στένθεσθαι, [urging] to make no terms. — οὐαρεῖν, sc. τὴν τάλιν.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδεῖν, refused to [said they would not] enslave, &c. It is said that, when a Theban delegate advocated the destruction of Athens, a Spartan replied, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece, and leave her ἐπερόφθαλμον. The same argument was used at Athens in favor of helping Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B. C. — ἀνδραποδεῖν (G. 110, II. n. 1 c). — ἐποιοῦντο, offered to make (†. 200, N. 2). — εἴφ . . . ἐποθαί (G. 267). — τὰ μακρὰ τείχη: probably only the two long walls leading to the Piraeus are meant; as the third or Phaleric wall, leading to the old port of Phalerum, was now of less account, since the Piraeus had been strongly fortified and connected with the city by two walls. — καθέντας (v. καθίημι), restoring. — τὸν αὐτόν, &c., lit. regarding as foe and friend the same with the Lacedaemonians.

21. μὴ ἤκολεν, lest they might have come (G. 200, N. 3 ; 202, 2). — οὐδὲ γάρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν, for there was no longer room (χώρα) for delay.

22. εἴφ' οἰς . . . ποιοῦντο, the terms on which (they said) the L. offered to make peace; ποιοῦντο representing ποιοῦνται of the direct form (G. 248, 4): see ἐποιοῦντο in § 20, above.

Page 125.—τῷ αὐλητρίσων, to the music of flute-girls.

III. 1. τῷ ἑπόντι ἔτει, the year beginning at midsummer 404 B. C., the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. — δύ . . . οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, whom the Athenians do not name, i. e. among the ἀρχοντες ἑπόντιμοι: the first of the nine Archons gave his name to the year, whence he was called the *Eponymus*. — ἀναρχίαν: the word ἀναρχία was entered in the public records for this year instead of the name of Pythodorus. — There are strong reasons for believing all of § 1, except τῷ δὲ ἑπόντι ἔτει, to be an interpolation; it will be seen that the other words break the construction of the sentence, which becomes grammatical only by taking τῷ . . . ἔτει with δύος in § 2.

2. θεοῖς τῷ δῆμῳ, the people voted: see note on II. 4, above. — οἱ . . . ξυγγράψουσι (G. 236, N. 3), who were to compile, &c.: see note on § 11, below.

The omitted sections (4–10) refer to matters in Thessaly and Syracuse (under the tyrant Dionysius), to the surrender of Samos to Lysander, and to Lysander's return to Sparta.

11. εἴφ' φτε ξυγγράψαι (G. 267), equivalent to οἱ ξυγγράψουσι in § 2. — πολιτεύσοντο is an indirect statement (G. 248, 4) of the idea of the Athenians in choosing the Thirty: in § 2 the indicative of the direct form is retained. For the middle voice, see G. 199, N. 1. — ἀεὶ ημέλλον, they continually delayed.

12. λόντας and δύτας (G. 246 ; 280). — βαρεῖς, odious. — ὑπῆγον θανάτου, arraigned capitally (G. 178, last example). — αὐτῶν (G. 173, 2, n. j.).

Page 126.—δοσι ξυνήθεσαν . . . δύτες (G. 280, N. 2).

13. ὅπως ἀν ἔξειη . . . ὅπως βιόλοιντο, *how they might get the power to treat the city as they pleased*; indirect question, representing πῶς ἀν ἔξειη ἡμῖν τῷ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βουλοίμεθα (G. 245; 247, N. 3). The first ὅπως is an indirect interrogative (like πῶς); the second is relative (G. 232, 4).—φρουροὺς σφίσιν ξυμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, *to help bring it about that guards should come to them*, i. e. *to aid in having guards sent them*: σφίσιν refers to the Thirty (G. 144, 2).—ἴως . . . καταστήσαιντο (G. 239, 2; 248, 3).—θρέψειν (G. 17, 2, N. 2; 203, N. 2).—Compare αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι with σφίσιν ἐλθεῖν above: as Δέσπανδρος is subject of ξυνέπραξεν, σφίσιν would have been incorrect here.

14. ὡς . . . πράττοιεν (G. 248, N.): the idea of the Thirty was ὡς πάντα ἐπαινή ἀν πράττωμεν (or ἀ πράττομεν), *that he may praise everything which we may do (or everything which we do)*. — τῶν φρουρῶν, depending on the omitted antecedent of οὓς. — ἤκιστα . . . ἀνέχεσθαι, representing ἤκιστα . . . ἀνέχονται, *they [are men who] least endure being thrust out* (unless ἀν is omitted by accident before ἀνέχεσθαι, or unless ἀν in the next clause affects ἀνέχεσθαι also). — πλεότους ἀν . . . λαμβάνειν, *would get most adherents* (G. 211): the protasis is expressed in ἐπιχειροῦντας, = εἰ ἐπιχειρούειν (G. 226, 1).

15. ἐπὶ τῷ . . . ἀποκτείναν (G. 262, 1). — ἀτε . . . φυγόν, *inasmuch as he had been exiled* (G. 277, N. 2): φεύγειν often means *to be exiled*; hence ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου follows, as if the verb were passive (G. 197, 1). — εἰ τις ἐτιμάτω . . . εἰργάζετο, *in case one was honored, &c.* depends as protasis on ἀντέκοπτε λέγων, and not on εἴη: if it belonged to the indirect discourse after δτε, we should expect τιμώτω or τιμᾶται, &c.

16. οὐκέτως ἔχρητο, *treated as a friend*. — δτι οὐκ ἔγχωροίη, *that it was not possible* (lit. *there was no room*). — μὴ οὐκ ἔκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, *not to put out of the way* (G. 283, 7): when we should have (affirmatively) ἔγχωρει μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, we may have (negatively) οὐκ ἔγχωρει μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. — ἦττον τι belongs to ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. — ἀσπερ τυραννίδος, *as a tyranny*: the meaning is, *if you think that our large number prevents our government from being in spirit a tyranny (properly a rule of one), and from requiring the same vigilance as a tyranny, you are a fool*.

17. δηλοι, *evidently* (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — ξυνιστάμενοι, *banding together* (in a threatening way).

Page 127.—εἰ μή . . . λήψοιτο, . . . ἔσοιτο, representing εἰ μή . . . λήψεται (G. 223, N. 1), ἀδύνατον ξεται (G. 202, 4). — τις, *they* (by the English idiom); for we should say *unless we take* for εἰ μή τις λήψεται in the direct form.

18. συρρείησαν, v. συρρέω. — καταλέγουσι, *register them in the list (κατάλογος, catalogue) mentioned in § 20*. — τοὺς μεθέξοντας δή, *who (as they said) were to take part in the administration* (G. 277, 3): we might have had of μεθέξουσι (see § 2, above).

19. κοινωνὸς ποιήσασθαι belongs at once with βουλομένους and with τρισχυλίους, that, wishing to make the best of the citizens partners, they made three thousand of them partners. — τό before πρώτον belongs to ποιήσασθαι, which is the subject of δοκοίη : we should expect another infinitive after ἔπειτα δέ, but after the new verb ὄρα the construction changes to that of the participle (G. 280). — ὥσπερ . . . εἶναι, as if this number (three thousand) must needs be honorable men : ἔχειν ἀνάγκην τινὰ ποιεῖν τι is to be under some necessity of doing something (G. 261, 1, n. 1). For the accusative absolute see G. 278, 2, n. ; for ὥσπερ, G. 277, n. 3. — οἱόν τε εἴη is irregularly added, by an entire change in the form of the sentence, as if εἰ ἔχοι had been used after ὥσπερ in the preceding clause, instead of the conditional participle ἔχοντα (G. 277, 4). Here οἱόν τε δύν would have been the regular form after ὥσπερ (without εἰ), as if it were possible; εἴη representing εἰ . . . εἰσίν in the words of Theramenes, as δοκοίη (above) represents δοκεῖ. — γενέσθαι has τινάς understood as its subject, and is followed by σπουδαίους and πονηρούς in the predicate. — κατασκευαζομένους is added, by a sort of apposition, to explain πράττοντας. — ηττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων, weaker than its subjects.

20. οἱ δέ ἔξεστιν, &c. The meaning of this obscure description seems to be as follows. The Thirty held a general review of all the citizens capable of bearing arms ; but while the Three Thousand were reviewed together in the market-place, the other citizens were scattered over the city in small detachments (*ἀλλων ἀλλαχοῦ*). Then, while the ordinary citizens were dismissed for dinner or some other purpose (*ἀτεληγάθεσαν*), leaving their arms stacked at the places of review, a general call to arms was suddenly sounded (*κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ σπλα*) ; on which the Spartan garrison (*φρουρός*) and those citizens who understood the plot rushed and seized the arms of the unsuspecting citizens before the latter could return and secure them. — ἔκεινοι, those who were *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. — ἐν τῷ ναῷ, in the temple, i. e. the Parthenon.

21. ὡς ἔξον, since (as they thought) it was in their power (G. 277, n. 2). — δι τι βούλοιντο (G. 248). — τῶν μέτοικων, resident foreigners, living at Athens chiefly for purposes of trade, without political rights ; as many of them were rich, they were selected as victims. Lysias (in Eratosth. § 2) says that the Thirty seized *τεκτόνας* μέτοικοι in this way, including two poor men in the number lest the purity of their motives should be suspected. — ἀποστημήσασθαι, to confiscate (properly to put a seal upon).

During this reign of terror, the orator Lysias was arrested by order of the Thirty while he was entertaining friends at dinner ; but he escaped from custody and fled to Megara. His brother Polemarchus, however, was arrested in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the tyrants, and was put to death without trial, and without so much as hearing the offence with which he was charged. The house of Polemarchus was plundered, even the golden ear-rings were torn from the ears of his wife, and his family were dependent on the charity of friends for the means of giving him a decent

burial. Lysias describes these terrible scenes in his oration against Eratosthenes, whom he afterwards prosecuted for the murder of Polemarchus.

22. δύτινα βούλαιτο (G. 248, 1) : this use of the optative must not be confounded with that seen in παρ' ὡν λαμβάνοιεν, below (G. 233). — φάσκοντας, while we declare.

Page 128.—μηδέν (G. 283, 4). — τῷ παντὶ, in every way.

23. ἐμποδὸν τῷ ποιεῖν (G. 262, 2; 185). — οἴητε . . . ἀλλος πρὸς ἄλλον, privately ; one to this man, one to that.

24. πλέονας τῷ καιρῷ, more than is fitting (lit. *seasonable*). — μεταστανταί, are changing. — τοῖς . . . μεταστάσι, those who are changing (the government). — διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι, because the city is ; διὰ τὸ . . . τεθράψθαι, because the people have been reared (G. 202, 2).

25. τοῖς οἷοις ἥμιν, to such as we (G. 153, N. 5). — οἱ βελτιστοί, the aristocracy (the better class), opposed to the δῆμος, the mass of the people.

26. ἔτινα αἰσθανόμεθα (G. 225). — ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα, put out of our way.

27. οἷς δύναται, by whatever means he can. — οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῖ, and (as a proof) that this is true. See § 33, below. — ἦν κατανόητε (G. 223); but δύναται βουλάμεθα (G. 233). — εἰ ἔγνωσκε, if he had this opinion (G. 221), has two apodoses, ἦν and ἔνοπλος ἂν. The latter has its main protasis implied in δικαῖος, if he were justly estimated, to which it conforms (G. 222). See G. 227, 1; and *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 (a).

Page 129.—28. τοῦ δήμου, of the democracy. — τοῖς . . . εἰς ἥμᾶς, on those who were first brought before us (for judgment), follows ἐπιτιθέναι (G. 187). — αὐτῷ ἀρέσκα, by *anacoluthon*, where τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀρέσκεται would be expected. — ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, in safety (G. 139, 2).

29. δύση . . . φανεροῦ, by as much as what is secret is harder to guard against than what is open. — ἔχθρον (v. ἔχθρός), more hostile. — οὐτε τοτεστοι οὐτε ἐπίστευτε, gnomic aorists (G. 205, 2; see N. 1) : the subjunctive λαμβάνοιεν (G. 233) depends on these aorists, as they are primary tenses (G. 201, Rem.). — τοῦ λαοῦ, for the future (G. 179, 1).

30. ἀναμηνήσω (v. ἀναμηνήσκω) here takes two accusatives (G. 164); this verb may also take the accusative and the genitive (G. 171, 2 N. 3). — κατὰ τὸν πατέρα, i. e. as his father had been. — τοὺς τετρακοσίους, the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established in Athens in 411 B. C. ; it lasted only four months. See Grote, Chap. LXII. — ἀντίταλόν τι τῇ δλιγαρχῃ, a party hostile to the oligarchy.

31. κόθορνος, a high buskin, worn by tragic actors : see the cut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Cothurnus*. — ἀποβλέπει, it is adapted to both feet, as the man who is said to resemble it has an eye to both sides. — ἀνδρα τὸν δέξιον ζῆν, the man (who is) fit to live (G. 142, 2). — οὐ . . . ξύνοντας : οὐ belongs to εἶναι, and πρόδγεν depends on δενόν. — οὐς ἀντεῖσθαι καταστῶν, until they get into fair sailing (G. 239, 2; 233). — ἐπειδὸν τι ἀντικόψῃ : we should expect the optative, by assimilation to

πλέον (G. 235), and we must translate it like one. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 1 (b).

32. δήπου, no doubt. — πλειστοί . . . ἀπολωλέναι, you are in part to blame that very many who were on the side of oligarchy have perished at the hands of the people : *αἰτίος τινὸς τινός* means the cause of something to some one ; and *αἰτίος* may take the simple infinitive (G. 261, 1) as here, or the infinitive with *τοῦ* (G. 262, 2).

Page 130.—ἀναλέσθαι (v. ἀναμέρω), to take up or recover. — ναυμαχίᾳ, the sea-fight at Arginusae, B. C. 406, in which the Athenian fleet was victorious, but sailed away leaving, besides the slain, more than a thousand perishing upon the wrecks : the commanders were afterwards brought to trial before the people, and six of them sentenced to death, for this neglect ; but the trial was hasty and informal, and their execution was regarded by many as a public crime. — ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, caused their death : Tharamenes, who was one of the commanders, joined in the accusation of the others.

33. τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν, gain ; τοῦ καλοῦ, honor. — τούτου, gen. after φεισθαι, v. φειδομαι (G. 171, 2). — ἡμᾶς ταῦτά, the same to us (G. 165).

34. καλλιστη : Critias, who was a very able man, a kinsman of Plato and a friend of Socrates, wrote a treatise on the excellence of the Spartan constitution. — διντὶ . . . πεθερθαι, instead of yielding to the majority. — τοῖς πραττομένοις, the acts of the government. — ἀν before οἰσθε belongs to δέιωθηναι (G. 211). — πολλοὺς . . . ὑμῖν, would make many of those who hold views (*γνωστούντων*) hostile to you haughty. — τῶν Έω, the political exiles, those who afterwards restored the democracy.

35. ἀποκτέναι (G. 203). — οὐκ ἥρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, i. e. my charge against them did not begin the controversy. — προσταχθέν, when it was ordered (G. 278, 2). — ἀπολογούμενος, alleging in defence. — οὐδέ, not even. — μη δι, not to say, much less. — έδοξα . . . λέγεν, was acknowledged to have spoken (seemed to speak) reasonably.

Page 131.—προμένοι, v. προίημι. — ἀπολέσθαι (G. 265). — ἀποπλέοντες φύοντο, sailed away (G. 279, 4, n.).

36. παρανεομηκέναι, has acted unlawfully (i. e. in accusing me) ; for which some editors suggest the milder παρανεοηκέναι, has erred in judgment. — πενέστας, serfs (like the Laconian Helots) : the charge of exciting a democratic revolt would be particularly galling to a proud aristocrat like Critias.

37. ὁν, sc. ἐκείνων, depending on μηδέν. — μηδὲν . . . γένοιτο, may nothing of the kind be done here. — ὑμᾶς, obj. of παῖσσαι, depose you (see § 43, below). — δίκαιον εἶναι explains τάδε, the obj. of διολογώ. — εἰ κατανοήσετε, see last note on § 31.

38. μέχρι . . . καταστῆναι, until you were established in the magistracy (βουλεῖα) : μέχρι τοῦ belongs also to ἀποδειχθῆναι and ὑπάγεσθαι ; but with ὑπάγεσθαι, μέχρι must be translated while. — Νικηράτου, son of the famous Nicias, who fell in Sicily B. C. 413.

40. ὑπόπτες ξέοιεν, *would be suspicious* (G. 202, 4). — ἔκαστον, see § 21. — τούτων ἀπολομένων (G. 226, 1) represents the protasis to ξεούντο: in the direct form, δὰν οὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται, πολέμῳ ξεούνται.

Page 132.—41. παρηροῦντο, *took away* (see § 20, above). — ὅτος . . . ἀφελεῖν, in appos. with τούτους ἔνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — μηδέν, *in nothing*. — ξέρην γάρ, &c., *for if they had wanted that, they might have left no one* (G. 222, N. 2) *by distressing [the city] with famine a little longer* (τι): πέσαντας agrees with the understood subj. of λυπεῖν (G. 138, N. 8 b).

42. οὐκ αὖ ξόκα μοι, *again, I did not approve*. — τὸ δυτίαπαλον, *the opposition*, of which the head-quarters were with the exiles. — σύντος, *in this way*, referring to the following protasis. — εἰ . . . προσγενήσοντο . . . φανήσοντο: μέν and δέ show that εἰ belongs to both verbs. In the direct form the protasis would have the fut. indic. (G. 223, N. 1).

44. οἱ ἄγριοι λέγω and οἱ οὗτοι πράττουσιν are subj. of γέγνεσθαι. — οὗ belongs to βούλεσθαι (G. 211). — οὗτοι, i. e. the Thirty, represented by Critias. — αὐτούς, i. e. the exiles. — χαλεπὸν . . . χάρας, *that they think it would be hard to get even a footing anywhere in the country*: ήγεισθαι, like νομέσειν, depends on οἴμαι (αὐτούς); and χαλεπὸν δὲν εἶναι (= χαλεπὸν δὲν ήγεισθαι) depends on ήγεισθαι.

45. οἷος, [such a one] *as*, with infin. (G. 261). — οἱ, sc. ἐκεῖνα (G. 160).

Page 133.—τετρακοσίων, see § 30, above. — πόσῃ πολιτείᾳ, *any form of government* (G. 184, 2).

46. ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἀνέσαν, *they (the Spartans) relaxed nothing* of their hostility. — οἱ ἀμφὶ, &c. the party of the oligarchy (G. 141, N. 3). — ξύρια: this was a fort on the mole (χώμα) which commanded the entrance of the harbor of Piraeus, built under pretence of defending the city from a hostile fleet, but really to introduce a Lacedaemonian force to uphold the tyranny of the Four Hundred. — οὐφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι, *make subject to themselves*.

47. αποκαλεῖ, *nicknames*. — οὐ πειρόμενον, *because (as he says) I try*. — τι ποτε, *what in the world?*

48. οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρίν, *not . . . until*. — καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι . . . μετέχουεν, until even the slaves, and those who for poverty would sell the state for a drachma, should receive a drachma, i. e. have a seat in the Senate, the pay of a senator being a drachma (17 cts.) a day. Or the passage may mean simply, until all who would sell the state for a drachma should have an opportunity to do so, i. e. *should have a drachma offered them*. — εἶναι δὲν represents εἴη δὲν, and πρίν . . . μετέχοει stands like a conditional relative sentence (G. 240, 1, third example). — οἱ . . . δὲν ἀποδέμενοι (G. 211) is equivalent to ἐκεῖνοι οἱ . . . δὲν ἀπέδουντο. — ζηγρεύσθαι δὲν (= ζηγρένοντο δὲν), *could arise or be formed*. — εἰς τὸ . . . τυραννεῖσθαι, lit. *into the [condition of] being under the tyranny of a few*. — τὸ μέντοι . . . πολιτείᾳ, *but with the help of the powerful, both by horses and by shields, to aid the government (I say) by these means*; all this is the subject of εἶναι, if the

text is correct. But διὰ τούτων is thus a mere repetition of what precedes, and the words have probably been corrupted in copying.

49. ήν . . . θλεγχθῶ . . . πράττων . . . πεποιηκάς, if I am (shall be) convicted of doing . . . or of having done (G. 280): the apodosis δικαίως διὰ ἀποθνήσκειν, that I should justly die, has another protasis implied in παθών (= εἰ πάθομι); see note on § 27, above. — ἐσχατάτα (double superlative), *extreme*.

50. θήλη . . . ἐπιθορυβήσασα, let it be seen that it applauded with favor (G. 280, n. 1).

Page 134.—εἰ ἐπιτρέψῃ: some MSS. have ἐπιτρέψοι, corresponding to ἐποφεύξοιτο (see G. 247, n. 1). — οὐ βιωτόν, *intolerable*. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας, the young men mentioned in § 23. — φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ (G. 185). — δρυφάκτοις, the railing, which separated the Senate from the spectators.

51. προστάτου . . . οἷον δεῖ, that it is the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be (for τοιούτου οἷον εἶναι δεῖ). — διὰ δὲ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ, not to permit: irregular for τὸ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. — οἵδε, the young men above mentioned. — τῶν δυτῶν, dep. on μηδένα. — κυρίους θανατοῦν, competent to put to death. — ξυνδοκοῦν, since it is agreed on (G. 278, 2).

52. Ἐστιάν: the altar of Hestia (*Vesta*), the Goddess of the Household, “the senatorial hearth, the altar and sanctuary in the midst of the Senate house.” — ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ, in the power of Critias.

53. ὑμῶν, obj. of θαυμάζω (G. 171, 2). — καὶ ταῦτα γιγνόσκοντες, and that too, when you know. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2). — τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου, that of any one of you.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκά, the *Eleven*, who had charge of prisons and executions. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, to seize Theramenes. — ἐκεῖνοι, nom. without verb.

Page 135.—οὐ δεῖ, to the proper place, with ἀπαγαγόντες. — τὰ ἐκ τούτων, what follows from this, i. e. execution.

55. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, the space in front.

56. δηλοῦντα οἴα ἐπασχε, proclaiming aloud the treatment he was suffering. — οὐκ . . . οἰμέσθομα, shall I not suffer? The word, as used by Satyrus, meant that he would suffer for it if he did not keep quiet. — τὸ λεπτόμενον, i. e. the last few drops of hemlock. — ἀποκοτταθίσαντα, jerking out: the κότταθος was a sort of toast, in which the guest flung out a few drops of wine, at the same time calling the name of his beloved; the sound of the wine, as it struck the mark aimed at, was accepted as an omen, or sign of favor. — ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀνδρός, this quality of the man. — τό belongs to ἀπολιπεῖν, in appos. with ἐκεῖνο.

“The scene just described,” says Mr. Grote, “is one of the most striking and tragical in ancient history. The atrocious injustice by which Theramenes perished, as well as the courage and self-possession which he displayed in the moment of danger, and his cheerfulness even in the prison, not inferior to that of Socrates three years afterwards, naturally enlist the warmest sympathies in his favor. But . . . he was a selfish, cunning,

and faithless man ; ready to enter into conspiracies, yet never foreseeing their consequences ; and breaking faith to the ruin of colleagues whom he had first encouraged, when he found them more consistent and thorough-going in crime than himself."

IV. 1. *προεῖπον μὴ εἰσέναι*, i. e. *excluded or expelled from the city*. — *ἥγον*, *arrested*: it was said that as many as fifteen hundred prisoners suffered death. Among the banished were the most eminent intellectual teachers, native or foreign, Socrates being hardly spared. — *φευγόντων*, genitive absolute. — *ἐνέπλησαν* (v. *ἔμπληξμι*), i. e. the Thirty caused Megara, &c. to be filled with the fugitives (*ἐποχωρούντων*).

2. *ἀς σύν*, *with about*. — *Φυλήν*, *Phyle*, a frontier fortress among the hills, on the road to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Page 136.—3. *τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ὥστερᾳ*, *during the night* (G. 179, 1) *and on the next day* (G. 189). — *ὑπό*, [taken] by.

4. *ληλαγήσοιεν*, *would forage* (i. e. those in Phyle). — *φυλάς*: the Attic army was mustered according to the ten tribes.

5. *συνελεγένων* (v. *συλλέγω*), *as there were gathered*, gen. als. with *περὶ ἐπτακοσίου*.

6. *ἀνίσταντο*, i. e. the forces of the Thirty. — *ὅποι*, *to [the post] where* (after *ἀνίσταντο*, which implies motion), i. e. *each to his own work*. — *σπλῶν*, *encampment*. — *ἴστη μὲν οὖς*, *some* (G. 152, n. 2).

Page 137.—8. *ἐν τοῖς ἵππεσσι*, *under guard of the cavalry*. — *πόσα εἶν*, i. e. the people of Eleusis. — *προσδεθῆσοντο* (G. 243), *how much additional garrison they would need* (i. e. in consequence of the seizure of Phyle). — *τὸν δὲ ἔξιόντα*, *every one as he went out*. — *ξυνελημμέναι* (v. *συλλαμβάνω*), *seized*. A similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made at Salamis. — *τοῖς ἑνδεκά*, i. e. for execution.

9. *Πιδεῖον*: not the Odeum of Pericles, but the older building near the Ilissus, once used as a theatre. — *τοὺς ἄλλους*, *those not mentioned in § 4 and § 6*. — *ταῦτα ἡμῖν*, *the same with us* (G. 159, n. 2; 186, n. 2).

10. *ὅστις . . . ἔμελεν*, *to such as cared only for gain*. The number thus put to death, says Lysias, was about three hundred. — *ἴθοισιν*, *went to their relief* (i. e. that of their party in Piraeus). — *ἴπατα*, i. e. on approaching the Piraeus. — *ἀναφέρουσαν*, *leading up*, i. e. to the high ground.

11. *μὴ διεῖναι αὐτούς*, *not to let them come up*, i. e. upon any of the high land of the peninsula. — *κύκλος*, the whole *circuit* of the fortifications which surrounded the Piraeus. The name Piraeus was given to the whole peninsula with its three harbors ; this included Munychia, which was the high hill on the east side of the peninsula, directly overlooking the smallest of the three harbors, the little bay of Munychia. The town of Piraeus occupied part of the larger lower hill south of the great harbor (the harbor called Piraeus), and extended across the isthmus along the shore, and over the low land west and northwest of Munychia, to the place at which the two long walls from Athens joined the fortifications of the Piraeus. In

this northern part of the town of Piraeus was the market-place named for Hippodamus of Miletus, who was employed by Pericles to lay out the new town of Piraeus. Hippodamus astonished the Athenians by his broad straight streets, crossing each other at right angles. One of these was the street here mentioned, leading from the great square (the *ἀγορά*) up the hill of Munychia; on which hill stood the temple of Artemis Munychia and that of the Thracian Artemis (Bendis). [On many maps the relative positions of Munychia and Piraeus are reversed, and Phalerum is wrongly made one of the three harbors of Piraeus.]

Page 138.—*ἔγενοντο . . . ἀσπίδων*, *they formed [a body] not less than fifty shields in depth.* — *ἄνω*, *upwards*, to Munychia.

12. *ἀντανέπλησαν*, i. e. Thrasybulus and his men *filled* the upper part of the same street to oppose them. — *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*, *behind them.* — *αὐτόθεν*, *from that quarter.* — *ἐν φ.*, *while.* — *θέσθαι*, *to rest the shield on the ground.* — *στάσις*, *taking his stand (not standing)*: see G. 200, N. 5 b.

13. *εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων*, &c., *there are among those who are advancing against us* (G. 169, 1), *first, those on the right, whom, &c.* — *ἡμέρα πέμπτην*, *four days ago* (G. 161, N.). See Anab. 4, V. 24. — *ἀπεσημανόντο*, *marked for death*: this word usually means *to put a seal on* property taken for confiscation (see above, II. 21, with note). — *οὐ*, *where*, explained in the next section.

14. *ἔχοντες . . . καθέσταμεν*, *we stand in front of them, with arms in our hands.* — *ὅτι . . . ἐνυελαμβανόμεθα*, *because we were seized while dining, &c.* — *οἱ δὲ καὶ*, *some of us also.* — *οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες*, *not only when we were guilty of no wrong*: lit. *not to speak of our being guilty of any wrong*: in full *οὐ λέξω ὅπως (= ὡς) ἀδικοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα.* — *χαράντα*, &c., see §§ 3 and 6 (above).

Page 139.—15. *ἔξιζόμεθα*, v. *ἔξικνόματι*: it governs the gen. by G. 171, 1.

16. *φέτο ἄν τις*, *one might suppose* (G. 226, 2). — *ἀμαρτήσεται*, *will miss*: the object *αἰτῶν* (antec. of *ἄν*, § 238) is understood. — *δραπετεύσουσιν*, *will skulk*, a word used in contempt of fugitive slaves. — *ἐναλλομένους*, *leaping or rushing upon them*, agrees with *ἡμᾶς*, the omitted subject of *ἀνατρέπειν*, instead of agreeing with *ἡμῖν* understood after *ἔξισται* (G. 138, N. 8).

17. *ἔκαστος τις . . . ὅν*, *each man shall be conscious to himself of being the main cause of victory* (G. 217). — *αὕτη*, *she*, viz. *νίκη*. — *οἱ εἰσὶ*, *to those who have them* (G. 153, N. 1). — *ἡμῶν*, gen. part. after *οἱ*. — *ἔπεισον* (G. 232, 3), v. *ἔφοράω*. — *μνημεῖον . . . τείχεται*, *for none so rich, who shall win so fair a sepulchre*: the construction is idiomatic; understand *οὔτω* before *καλοῦ*. — *Ἐνύάλιον*, *the God of battles, a name of Ares (or Mars).* — *ἄνθις ἴβρισθημεν*, *in requital of the insults we have borne*: the active construction would be, *ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ιβρίζειν* (G. 159, N. 4; 153, N. 1).

18. ὁ μάρτις: the article is used because the *prophet* or *diviner* had his official place in the host. — ἐπεδάν . . . δοκεῖ, the words of the diviner.

19. τέθανται, *lies buried*. — τῶν δέκα, chiefs of the force established by the Thirty. — Χαρμόδης: he was an uncle of Plato, from whom one of Plato's dialogues is named. — πολλοί, *many* [of both parties].

Page 140.—20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, *the herald of the* [Eleusinian] *mysteries*, belonging to one of the ancient priestly families. (See *Eumolpidæ* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities). — κατασιωπησάμενος, *having proclaimed silence*. — ξυγχορευταί, *companions in the choral dance*.

21. πρός, *in the name of*. — ὀλίγους δέν, *almost* (G. 268). — ἀπεκτόνασιν, v. ἀποκτένω. — μητίν, v. μήν. — δέκα ἑτη, the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war, the Decelean war.

22. τῶν ἀποθανόντων, part. gen. after οἵτινι οὖς. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . κατάδακρύσαμεν, *some of them we too greatly lamented*. — οἱ λοιποί, *the survivors of the Thirty*.

23. ξυνεκάθηντο, v. συγκάθημαι. — διεφέροντο, *disputed, wrangled*. — βιαιότερον (sc. τοῦ προσήκοντος), *unusually or unduly violent*.

Page 141.—τοῖς τριάκοντα, dat. after πείθεσθαι. — τὸ τελευταῖον, *final*-*ly* (G. 160, 2). — ἕκεντος καταπαύσα, *to depose them* (the Thirty).

24. Ἐλευσινάδε (G. 61), see § 8, above. — τῶν ἐν δότα, *those in the city* (gen. following ἐπειδόντο). — ἔφασενον, *they patrolled*. — τὸ μὲν ἄρ' ἐσπέρα (G. 161), *after dark*. — τὸ δὲ πρὸς δρόμον, *but towards morning*, an exception to the preceding statement.

25. οἵτινες, [to] *whoever*: understand an antecedent dative after οἵτινα, depending on ποτά δόντες, *giving pledges that all who, &c. should have equal rights*. The direct discourse would be [πᾶσιν] οἵτινες ἀν ξυπολεμήσωσι, καὶ τὰν ἔνοι αὐτιν, *together shall they*.

Many exiles came to their aid, others sent money or arms, — the orator Lysias sending two hundred shields and two thousand drachmas in money, and hiring, besides, 300 fresh soldiers; there was one loan of five talents in money (\$5,400), afterwards repaid by the people.

26. οἵτινι δέ, *at times*. — ληστὰς ἔχαροντα, *roughly handled foragers*. — Αἰγανέον, *men from Aegaeon*, a town (or *deme*) on the coast of Attica. — πολλῶν ἵππων, i. e. many of the men under Lysimachus.

27. τῶν ἵππων, possessive gen. (sc. δύτα) after Καλλιστρατον.

Page 142.—εἰ δὲ . . . δεῖ εἰπεῖν, *if I may be permitted to speak*: the apodosis (ἴρω, *I will speak*) is omitted. — τοῦ μηχανοποοῦ depends on τοῦτο. — κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, *over the race-course leading from the Lyceum*. The Lyceum was a gymnasium just outside of the city walls on the east; and it was used in the next century by Aristotle as his place of instruction, as the Academy was used by Plato (see note on II. 8, above).

For this reason the word is a familiar one in modern languages, though in a somewhat different meaning. — **ὅπου βούλοιτο** (G. 248). — **τοῦ δρόμου**, partitive gen. after **ὅπου**. — **πράγματα**, trouble.

28. **ὅτι . . . εἴη**, that it was possible (not would be) : the direct discourse was **οἶλον τέ ξετινός . . . ἐάν** ἀποκλεισθῶν (G. 223). — **αὐτοῖς**, the oligarchy at Athens.

29. **μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ**, were highly elated with hopes of Lysander. — **προχωρούντων** (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων), when matters were thus going on. — **εἰ . . . εὐδοκιμήσοι . . . ποιήσοιτο** (G. 248, 2 ; 226, 4, n. 1) **πελούσας**, by consent of. — **φρουράν** (in its Spartan sense), an armed force.

Lysander's selfish policy had already disgusted the general feeling of the Greeks ; and a party in Sparta, jealous of his authority, were resolved that he should not plant his own creatures a second time as rulers of Athens. On his arrival at Athens, Pausanias was beset with prayers for protection and redress by those who had suffered from the tyranny of the oligarchs, which strongly inclined him to make terms with the patriot party.

30. **ὅτι τύγχωσκον**, because they were of opinion : they suspected that Pausanias meant to make Attica a separate province of Sparta (**οἰκείαν καὶ πιστήν**). — **'Αλιπέδῳ**, the low land near Piraeus.

Page 143.—31. **ἐπὶ τὰ ἔαυτών**, to their homes. — **ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν**, only for appearance' sake (lit. as far as shouting went, implying with no real purpose). One preposition is superfluous, and the simpler **ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς** is found in later Greek. — **ἡβᾶς . . . ὁν** (G. 280, n. 1). — **κωφὸν λιμένα**, the still harbor, probably the small cove west of the principal harbor of Piraeus. — **πῇ ἐναποτελχιστός**, i. e. where was the best line for blockading the Piraeus (i. e. on the side towards Athens).

32. **ἐνέντας** (v. **ἐνέημι**), at full speed, used intransitively. — **τοὺς . . . ἥβης**, i. e. those who had been ten years of the military age ; referring to the civic ἑφῆβια, which began in the eighteenth year.

33. **ἐπὶ πόδα**, backward (without turning). — **οἱ τεθαμμένοι** (v. **θάπτω**) **ἐν Κεραμακῷ**, i. e. whose graves are in the Ceramicus. The outer Ceramicus is described by Thucydides as "the most beautiful suburb" of Athens. It was northwest of the city, and the road to the Academy (see note on II. § 8, above) passed through it. On this road (as on the Roman Via Appia) were many monuments of illustrious men, especially of such as had fallen in battle.

34. **ἐπὶ δέκτα**, eight deep. — **ἔξεωσθησαν**, v. **ἔξωθεν**. — **ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαις** : this must refer to the marshy district at the junction of Piraeus with the mainland, not to either of the Attic demes called **Ἀλαί**.

Page 144.—35. **οὐδὲ ὡς**, not even under these circumstances : **ὡς** for **οὔτες** is rare in Attic prose (G. 29, N.). — **οὐτα** is object of **λέγοντας**, which belongs to **πρόσθεις**. — **διίστη**, divided (by making discord). “It seems plain that this is not a correct account. Pausanias did not create this dis-

cord, but found it already existing, and had to choose which of the parties he would adopt. The peace-party was already uppermost in Athens, and it was both easiest, and most for the Lacedaemonian interest, to follow the course he did." Grote.

38. *νομίζεται*, *it is according to [Spartan] custom.* — *τῆς γνώμης ὅντες*, *being of the opinion.*

37. *ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ*, i. e. *those representing the government*, the Ten (§§ 23, 24), the first embassy being sent by Pausanias. — *χρήσθαι δὲ πούλουται*, *to deal with as they pleased* (G. 248). — *άξιοῦν*, *thought fit.*

38. *ἴχειν* (G. 267). — *ἀπιέναι*, &c., i. e. no man should be molested for past acts, except the Thirty, &c.

39. *διῆκε* (v. *διέλημα*), *disbanded.*

Page 145.—40. *ἐκ τοῦ δυτεοῦ δινδρες*, i. e. those who had fought against Thrasylus. — *γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς*, *to come to know yourselves.* — *ἐπὶ τίνι . . . φρονητέον . . . ὥστε*, *on what ground you have a right to be (so) presuming, as, &c.* — *δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προστίκει*, i. e. *you have no claim on the score of justice.*

41. *ἢ ὡς, than the manner in which.* — *οὐ γε* would naturally be the subject of *οἶχονται*, but it is disregarded after the clause *ωστέρ . . . παραδίδασιν*, and *κάκενοι* is introduced (by *anacoluthon*) after *οὗτοι*. The subject of *παραδίδασιν* is *τινὲς* understood. — *ἀπιόντες* (G. 279, 4, n.).

42. *ῳ δινδρες*: here he addresses his own followers, who had just taken the oath in the Acropolis. — *οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ . . . παραβῆναι οὐδέν*, *I adjure you not to violate any part of the oath which you have taken* (*ἐν οὐδέν = οὐδέν ἔκεινον δί*). *Οὐκ ἀξιῶ* sometimes means *I ask some one not to do something* (like *οὐ φημι, I deny*): here *οὐδέν* (not *μηδέν*) merely repeats the negative idea expressed in *οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ*. — *ἐπιδεῖξαι* depends on *ἀξιῶ* (without *οὐ*).

43. *ἀρχάς, magistrates (authorities)*: the chief Archon then chosen, the *Eponymus* of the year 403—402, was Euclides, whose year is a famous era in Athenian history. — *τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι*: see § 24, above. — *ἢ μήρι, a formula often prefixed to an oath.* — *μὴ μνησικακήσαν, not to remember civil*, i. e. they declared an *amnesty* (*α- and μνήστις*). A part of the oath was as follows: *καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα.* — *ὅμοι πολιτεύονται, they conduct the government in harmony*, i. e. the oligarchical party and the democracy.

After these events, Athens was still left comparatively weak, disabled by the loss of her fortifications and of the long walls connecting the city with the port, until the great naval victory of Conon at Cnidus (b. c. 394) enabled him to rebuild the walls, and restore to the city something of its ancient glory and strength.

HERODOTUS.

THE subject of the historical work of Herodotus, as he himself announces it, is the famous invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The greater part of his history, however, is taken up with an introduction to this subject, in which he gives an account of almost every nation in the world with which the Greeks had come in contact, and preserves many valuable fragments of the early history of both Athens and Sparta as well as other Greek states.

The Persian Wars (490–479 b. c.) mark one of the most important eras in the political history of Athens. It was a period of anxious excitement and finally of terrible hardship, a fierce struggle for existence, from which the Athenian democracy emerged in full maturity. Before the restoration of Athens after the battle of Plataea, the constitution was far from being purely democratic. The constitution of Solon (594 b. c.) had given the great body of the people very limited political and judicial functions, excluding all except the wealthiest class from the chief magistracy, the archonship, and the fourth or lowest class from all civic offices. Even the constitution of Cleisthenes, which followed the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus (510 b. c.), did not venture to remove these barriers which guarded the offices of state, although it did allow the lot to decide in most cases between candidates who had the legal qualifications. But after the battle of Plataea, even the conservative Aristides felt that the time was come when the right of the whole people to govern the state which they had saved from destruction must be recognized. He then proposed the decisive law which abolished all political distinctions between the citizens, and opened all the offices of state to all Athenians. Thus completely had the common sufferings united all parties and silenced all doubts.

The chief events of this memorable period are the battle of Marathon in 490 b. c.; the defence of Thermopylae by the Spartan king Leonidas, and the two sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis, in 480 b. c.; and the battles of Plataea and Mycale (on the same day) in 479 b. c.

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, one of the Doric cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, about the year 484 b. c. In his manhood he travelled extensively in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, — a keen, intelligent, and accurate observer. His history is one of the earliest, and is much the most curious and interesting, of our sources of knowl-

edge as to the countries, people, customs, history, local politics, and family traditions of the century before his own day. It is in nine Books, named for the nine Muses. It is full of illustrations of the religious beliefs, omens, oracles, customs, and feelings of the time. The conflict between Asia and Europe appears in Herodotus as part of a great drama, in which the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war had been successive acts, which was watched at every point and guided by the manifest direction of the Gods; while in the earlier parts of his History he is constantly tracing proofs of that divine judgment, which humbles the pride and punishes the crimes of men.

Asia Minor, with the Greek colonies on its western coast, had been added to the Persian dominions by Cyrus the Great, who conquered Croesus, king of Lydia, b. c. 546. About the year b. c. 500, the Ionic cities, with Miletus at their head, revolted against the Persian rule; and, with the help of allies from Greece, especially the Athenians, captured and burned the Lydian capital, Sardis. The war continued about six years, and ended in a complete Persian victory. The Ionic city of Miletus was captured and reduced to slavery, to the passionate grief of its generous allies in Athens. But the attention of the Persians had been drawn to the free states and islands towards the west, and these hostilities led the way to their two formidable invasions. Meanwhile the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had been driven from Athens (b. c. 510), and had taken refuge at the Persian court. He was now a feeble old man; but his hate of the Athenians and desire of revenge made him eager to serve the invader, whom he accompanied himself to the plain of Marathon.

Although Herodotus was a Dorian by birth, he wrote his History in Ionic Greek. His intercourse with the Ionic cities in his immediate neighborhood must have made him familiar with their speech, even if we reject the account given by Suidas of his long residence as an exile in the Ionic island of Samos. But he probably chose the Ionic dialect chiefly because it had been used by the historians or annalists who preceded him. The dialect of Herodotus is known as the *New Ionic*, which, where it differs from the Attic, is very similar to the Old Ionic of Homer. Its general peculiarities should be learnt by the beginner from the grammar.* Others will be seen in the Lexicon; as the use of *κ* for *π* in *κῶς*, *δκως*, *κότε*, &c., for *πῶς*, *δπως*, *πότε*, &c., and the interchange of aspirates in *ἐνθάρτα*, *ἐνθέύτεν*, *κιθών*, for *ἐνθάρθα*, *ἐνθέύθεν*, *χιτών*. The chief peculiarity in syntax is the use of

* See G. Introduction, pp. 1 and 2; §§ 30; 39; 44; 59; 67, Note 1; 70; Notes to 76–86; §§ 119; 120; 126; Notes to 127; see also §§ 140, Note 4; 144, 2 (b); 148, Note 4. Much of the detail in the notes can be learnt by practice while reading.

the forms of the article beginning with τ as relative pronouns (G. 140, n. 4), which must be kept constantly in mind.

The story of the Persian Wars is begun in the sixth book of Herodotus, and is continued in the three following books. The extracts here given include the battle of Marathon and the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis, and end with the retreat of Xerxes to Asia after his defeat at Salamis. They begin with VI. 48, to which V. 105 is prefixed by way of introduction.

I.

Page 146. — 1. βασιλεῖ, uncontracted form for βασιλεῖ (G. 53, 3). — ὡς, when. — Σάρδῖς = Σάρδεις (G. 53, 1, N. 3), accus. plural. — Ιένων... πουησάμενον, making no account of the Ionians. — μετὰ δὲ, but afterwards (G. 191, N. 2). — πυθόμενον, like ὡς ἐπίβεβο above. — εἰρεσθαι, used to ask, imperfect infinitive (G. 203, N. 1). — ἀπένται for ἀφένται (v. ἀφίημι: G. 17, 1, N.), let fly. — μήν for αὐτόν (G. 79, 1, N. 4), i. e. the arrow. — βάλλοντα, as he let it fly (G. 204). — ἔκγενεσθαι, infinitive for optative in a wish (G. 270), be it granted. — προστάζειν depends on λέγεται (third line). — ἐς τρὶς, thrice. — ἕκαστοτε, i. e. every day at supper. — μέμνεο (for μέμνησο), as if from a present μέμνομαι : the form μέμνῃ is found in Homer.

2. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : Darius had sent an army and a fleet in 492 B. C., under his son-in-law Mardonius, to subdue Eretria and Athens, reducing the Greek populations on the way. Some, including the Macedonians, were subdued by the army ; but as the fleet beat about Mount Athos, “there fell on them a north wind, great and ungovernable, which treated them very roughly, dashing many of the ships against Athos ; three hundred of them are said to have perished, and more than twenty thousand men. And as this sea about Athos is most full of monsters, many were seized and devoured by them, and some were crushed against the rocks ; and some could not swim and so were lost ; and some perished with cold. So then fared that fleet.” (Hdt. VI. 44.) After some successes in the south of Thrace, Mardonius returned to Asia. — οἱ τι ἔχοιεν, indirect question. — κύτερα = πότερον. — ἑαυτῷ = ἑαυτῷ. — σφέας αὐτούς = ἑαυτούς. — ὅν = οὖν, therefore. — ἀλλοις ἀλλῇ τάξας, i. e. ordering them to different places. — πόλιας = πόλεις (G. 53, 1, N. 3). — νέας μαρπάς, ships of war, naves longas.

3. τὰ προτοχέρῳ αἰτέων, what he put forward as his demand. — οἱ τοὺς ἄπικοιαρο = οἱ οὓς ἀφίκουντο (G. 233). — καὶ δὴ καὶ, lit. and moreover also, an emphatic formula very common in Hdt. Here it stands for the usual καὶ in the expression ἀλλοι τε... καὶ. — σφί = σφίσι (G. 79, 1, N. 2), used like αὐτοῖς in Attic (G. 144, 2). — ἐπεκέστω (G. 127, VI. N.). ἐπι σφίσι ἔχοντας, aiming a blow at them (as English, “have at them”).

Page 147. — ὡς... στρατεύονται, so as to join the Persians in marching upon them. The jealousy thus roused threatened a war which would

have divided and weakened Greece : it was composed in season, and the men of Aegina fought bravely against the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. — τὰ πενούκοιν, what [as the Athenians said] they had done (G. 248, 4, last ex.). — συνήπτω : the active form συνάπτειν πόλεμον (cf. συνάπταν μάχην in § 12, to join battle), means, to engage in war. The hostility between Aegina and Athens is traced by Herodotus to the following circumstance : In time of famine, the Epidaurians had brought two statues of sacred olive-wood from Athens, paying therefor a yearly service at the shrine of Erechtheus. After these had for many years been effectual to avert the barrenness of the land, they were stolen by Aeginetans, colonists of Epidaurus, and the tribute ceased. The Athenians then sent to demand it at Aegina ; but, while they were attempting to drag away the sacred statues, a violent storm burst forth, with an earthquake, so that their whole expedition, struck with frenzy, fell upon one another and perished, except one man who fled to tell the tale.

4. οὐτε is used with the participle by Hdt. in the same sense as ἀπε in Attic (G. 277, n. 2 b); not in the sense of οὐ. — Πισιστράτδεων, i. e. Hippias and his household. Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, became tyrant at Athens b. c. 560. Hippias was expelled and the democracy restored b. c. 510, twenty years before the battle of Marathon. — προσκαθημένων = προσκαθημένων. — ταῦτης . . . προφάσιος, adhering to this purpose. — 'Ελλάδος, partitive genitive with τοὺς μὴ δόντας. — φλαιρίως πρήξαντα, cf. κακῶς πράττειν (G. 165, n. 2). — παραλύει, "relieves." — ἀποδέεις = ἀποδέεσσις, having appointed. — Δάτιν, Ἀργαφίνα, in apposition with στρατηγούς.

Here follows the expedition of the fleet against the Grecian islands, and the capture of Eretria, in Euboea, the inhabitants of which were colonized by Darius eastward of the Persian Gulf.

5. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν : Eretria was opposite the northern point of Attica, across the strait, which is here about five miles wide. — κατέργοντες = καθ-εργοντες, hemming in the Athenians greatly : the word is doubtful. — δοκούντες . . . τά, expecting to do the same by the Athenians, as, &c. (G. 165). — καλ . . . γάρ : here the separate force of these particles can be seen, and . . . for. Generally, however, καλ γάρ means simply for surely (more emphatic than γάρ alone), the original ellipsis of a clause with καλ being forgotten. — δ Μαραθών : "the plain of Marathon is about six miles from north to south, and of varying width, having the eastern declivities of Pentelicus on the west, and the sea on the east." Felton. It is about twenty miles northeast from Athens, and fifteen southeast from Eretria. — ἐντηρεῖσαι, i. e. for cavalry movements. — κατηγέρει = καθηγεσθαι. — σφε (G. 171, 3, n.). — δέκα, i. e. one from each Attic tribe. — δέκατος, one of ten (not tenth). — τοῦ, whose. — κατελαβε, it befell : its subject is φεύγειν, which means properly to get banished (aorist), while φεύγειν is to be in exile : φεύγω is of course transitive, lit. to flee from, hence Πισιστράτον.

6. ήκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου: this refers to the Thracian Chersonesus (on the west side of the Hellespont), where Miltiades had been several years governor or "despot." Hence Byron's familiar lines,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese," &c.

His uncle, Miltiades, the so-called οἰκυστής (or *founder* of the Chersonese), had led the first Athenian colony to this region during the reign of Pisistratus. Miltiades the younger, according to Herodotus, had advised breaking down the bridge on the Danube, and leaving Darius to perish in his campaign against the Scythians (about 516 b. c.): hence the king's enmity against him, and attempt to seize him, described below.

Page 148. — περὶ πολλοῦ ἔποιεντο, *made great efforts*. — τὸ ἐνθέντεν, *thereupon*. — ἕποδεξάμενοι, *watching for his return*: the simple ἔδεξάμην in Ionic Greek, as in Attic, belongs to δέχομαι: but in compounds care must be taken to avoid confusion with this and similar Ionic forms (as ἀδέχθην) belonging to δέκνυμι. — ἀπεδέχθη, *was appointed*.

7. τοῦτο μελετῶντα, i. e. this was his profession. — τῷ = φ., dative after τερπίστη, *falls in with* (G. 187). — βίσσατα (v. βοάω), *calling*. — Πάνα, subject of κελεύσαται, which depends on θεός understood: Pan was the Pelasgic (i. e. aboriginal) deity, whose chief seat of worship was the Pelasgic district of Arcadia. — ἀπαγγεῖλαι, *to carry this message* (implying to ask). — διάτι (= διὰ τί) . . . ποιεῦντα, *why they paid no reverence to him*. — τὰ δέ is used before ἔτι as if τὰ μὲν stood before πολλαχοῦ. — καταστάντων . . . πρηγμάτων, *when their affairs were now restored to good condition*. — εἶναι: the subject is ταῦτα after πιστεύσαντες. — ιρόν, *shrine*: this was a grotto below the Acropolis, with a descent of 47 steps. — ἀπό, *in consequence of*. — λαμπάδι, *a torch-race*.

8. δευτεραῖος, *within two days*: the distance is about 140 miles. — περιπτοῦσαν (like περιπεσεῖν), aorist participle without time (G. 279, 3). — πρός, *at the hands of*. — πόλι, dative of difference (G. 188, 2): *Greece is become poorer by one notable city*. — ἔαδε, v. ἄνδανω. — ἀδύνατα ἦν, *it was impossible*, a common expression for ἀδύνατον ἦν (G. 135, 2).

Page 149. — ισταμένου τοῦ μηνός: the lunar month was divided into three parts, called ιστάμενος, μεσών, φθίνων. — εἰνάτη = ἑνάτη, *ninth*. It is supposed that in this particular month occurred the Carneia, the great Dorian festival in honor of Apollo, lasting from the seventh to the fifteenth (i. e. till the full moon), during which no Dorian might bear arms. It occurred generally in August, but this year early in September. — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7, Rem.) . . . τοῦ κύκλου, *while the moon's disk was not yet full*.

9. συνευνηθῆναι τῷ μητρὶ: this he understood to mean, that he should sleep in the grave in his native land. — γηραός, *in his old age*. — κατελθών (G. 138, n. 8).

10. τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ (G. 148, n. 4). — ἀπέβησε, *put ashore*. — καταγομένας, *brought to land*: the corresponding ἀνάγεσθαι is *to put to sea*. — οἱ, *to him*, dative following ἐπῆλθε. — δέθες for εἰώθει, v. θέω. — οἰα

(G. 277, N. 2 b) with ἐόντι, since he was. — πρεσβυτέρος, rather old. — οὐ ληλυθέναι, had come to pass (lit. had come out).

11. ἐν τεμένει Ἐρακλέος, i. e. in Marathon. — Πλαταιές, the city of Plataea was about twenty-five miles northwest from Athens, in the territory of Boeotia. — ἀναπαρέατο, for δνήρηντο, v. ἀναρέω, had undertaken (G. 119, 3). — ἔκαστιρος, too far off (to be of any use to you).

Page 150. — τοιήδε . . . ψυχρή, such a service would prove to be cold, i. e. too weak to be of use. — φθαίητε . . . ἡμέων, for you might be enslaved many times before any of us would hear (G. 279, 2): πυθόθαι here follows φθαίητε ἢ from the force of πρίν implied in the verb (G. 274, N.); a rare construction. — πιμερέαν οὐ κακοῖσ, no cowards to help. — συνεστάτως, v. συνέστημι, coming in collision. — Βοιωτοῖ: especially Thebans, who would object to the proposed union of Plataea and Athens.

12. οὐκ ἡρίστησαν, i. e. they followed their advice. — ποιεύντων is temporal. — ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, both sides choosing them umpires. — οὔρισαν for ὄρισαν, v. ὄρίζω. — ἐάν . . . τελέειν, that the Thebans should leave at liberty (ἐάν) those of the Boeotians who were unwilling to belong to the Boeotian league, which was under the exclusive control of Thebes.

13. ἐπεθῆκαντο (G. 110, III. 1, N. 1). — ἐσσώθησαν (for ἤστ-), v. ἤσταομαι, were defeated. — τοὺς . . . οὔρους, the boundaries which, &c.: τούς is relative.

14. ἐγίνοντο δίχα, were divided. — τῶν μέν, &c., one part voting not to engage. — δύλγους, too few. — τῶν δὲ, &c., the other, including Miltiades, urging it. — ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων, the more timid was likely to prevail (imperfect). — κνάμῳ λαχών, elected by lot (lit. by the bean). The polemarch was the third in rank of the nine archons, and he was originally (as his name denotes) a military commander. Soon after the Persian Wars, however, his duties were confined to the management of the affairs of foreigners resident at Athens, and military matters were left to the board of ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

Page 151. — 15. οὐδέ, &c., not even Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens by slaying Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias, who was then tyrant: they were from the same deme with Callimachus (Aphidnae). — δέδοκται τὰ πεισοντα, it is already determined what they shall suffer: i. e. the tyranny of the Pisistratidae will be restored and the democracy abolished. — πειργένηται, shall get the victory. — οὖν τε ἐστι (G. 151, N. 4). — ἀνήκει ἐσ σέ, has come up to you [for decision]. — θλιπομαι, I anticipate. — στάσις, commotion or civil conflict. — ἀστε μηδίσσωται, so that they will favor the Persians, i. e. prove traitors to the national cause: in this verb μηδίζω, and often elsewhere, the Persians are incorrectly called Medes by the Greek writers. — πρίν τι . . . ἐγγενέσθαι, before there come anything rotten (cowardly or corrupt) into one and another of the Athenians. — θεῶν . . . νεμόντων, if the Gods judge justly. — ήν διη, if you prefer (v. αἱρέω). — τῶν . . . ἀγαθῶν (for ὁν . . . ἀγαθῶν), by attraction and assimilation (G. 154, N.) for τῶν ἀγαθῶν (G. 181, N.) & κατελαθε-

16. μερὰ δέ (G. 191, n. 2). — πρωτανηὴ τῆς ἡμέρης, *command for the day*, which passed in rotation through the whole board of ten generals : as one general belonged to each tribe, it is likely that the same order was followed here as in the ordinary succession of the tribes in the πρωτανεῖα, which was determined annually by lot (see note on § 17, below, and on Xen. Mem. § 18). — δεκόμενος = δεχόμενος. — οὐ . . . κω = οὐ . . . πω, *not yet*. — πρίν, *until* (G. 240, 1).

Page 152. — 17. τόπε, &c.: the right wing was the post of honor, as being most perilous, that side being unprotected by the shield ; it was anciently assigned to the king. — ὡς ἡριθέοντο, *in order, as they were numbered*; see note on § 16, above. — ἀπὸ ταύτης . . . σφὶ μάχης, *from their fighting in this battle*: for σφὶ (the Plataeans) see G. 184, 3, n. 4. — θυτας . . . γινομένας, *when the Athenians celebrate the sacrifices and festivals which take place every four years*: this refers especially to the greater Panathenaic festival. — λέγων is parenthetical, and γίνεσθαι depends on κατεύχεται (G. 203, n. 2). — ἐξισούμενον, *extended to equal length*. — ἐπὶ τάξις δύπας, *but a few ranks deep*.

18. ὡς δέ σφι διετέρακτο, impersonal (see G. 188, 3, second ex.) — ἀπειθησαν (v. ἀφίημι), *were allowed to advance* (lit. *let go or sent forth*) “like racers in the course” (Stein). — μανῆν . . . ἐπέφερον, *they imputed madness*: in fact, only the admirable training of the Athenians saved them from being thrown into disorder, by which they must have perished. — ἵππου (fem.), *cavalry*. — ἀνέσχοντο δρόσοντες, *endured to behold*. — ταύτην ἰσθμήνους, *wearing it* (a peculiar word : G. 164; 197, 1, n. 2). — τέως, *till then*. — φόβος ἀκούσται (G. 261, 2, n.).

19. μαχομένων, genitive absolute denoting time, *while they fought*. — τὸ μέρον (G. 160, 1), *at the centre*, like κατὰ τοῦτο ἐνίκων just below. — τῇ, *where*. — Σάκαι: these were Scythian bowmen, serving probably as mariners in the fleet, and efficient in land service. — ἐτεράχατο = τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. — ρήγαντες, *breaking through*.

Page 153. — ἤνω, *they suffered*, for εἶνων. — τοῖς . . . ρήγαστο, *dative after ἐμάχοντο*. — φεύγοντο, *in their flight*. — Πέρσησι (G. 186, n. 1).

20. ἀπὸ δ' θανεῖ, the verb is ἀπέθανε, the prepositions being separated by tmesis (G. 191, n. 3). — γινόμενος, *having proved himself*. — Κυνέγειρος, a brother of the poet Aeschylus : he was attempting to climb into the ship by the stern-works (ἀφλάστον). — τὴν χείρα (G. 197, 1, n. 2).

21. ἔκανακρονώραμενοι, *backing water*. — ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — αἰτίη, &c., *an accusation became current* (ἴσχε) *that they planned this by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae*: this was a powerful family in Athens, at feud with Miltiades, — the same to which, in the next generation, Pericles belonged. — ἀναδέξαι ἀστῆδα, *displayed a shield* (G. 203) : this depends on the idea of saying in αἰτίῃ. This shield, “discernible from its polished surface afar off, was seen held aloft upon some high point of Attica, — perhaps on the summit of Mount Pentelicus. . . . A little less quickness on

the part of Miltiades in deciphering the treasonable signal and giving the instant order of march, — a little less energy on the part of the Athenian citizens in superadding a fatiguing march to a no less fatiguing combat, — and the Persians, with the partisans of Hippias, might have been found in possession of Athens. . . . Nothing could have rescued her, except that decisive and instantaneous attack which Miltiades so emphatically urged." Grote.

22. ποδῶν (G. 168, n. 3), genitive following τάχιστα, i. e. *at the top of their speed*. — ἔφθησαν ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — τρὶς ή ἡκαν (G. 274, n.). — Κυνοσύργει, a grove and gymnasium, eastward of the city, like the Academy (see note on Xen. Hellen. ii. 2. 8). — ὑπεραωρηθέντες, *lying off* (lit. above) : in the same way the Greeks spoke of a vessel leaving the shore by ἀνάγεσθαι, and of one approaching the shore by κατάγεσθαι. Compare the active expression νέας ἀνακοχεύεσταις, *keeping the ships at anchor*, just below. — Φαλήρου, the old port of Athens (see map, and note on Xen. Hell. p. 42) : at this time the Piraeus had not been fortified.

23. συνήνεκε, v. συμφέρω, *it befell*.

Page 154. — πληρέντα, *struck with sword or pike* ; βληθέντα, *hit with arrow or javelin*. — σκιάζεν (G. 260, 2, n. 2).

24. ἔχοντες . . . σῦντα, *making such haste to reach Athens in time for the battle*. — τριταῖο, *on the third day from Sparta* (i. e. two days after leaving Sparta). Plato says that they arrived the day after the battle. — θηῆσασθαι (v. θεάμαται).

After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades procured an armament of seventy ships under his own command, for secret service, — which proved to be an attack on Paros, to revenge, says Herodotus, a private quarrel. He returned unsuccessful, and was impeached of treason by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. The penalty of death was commuted for a fine of fifty talents ; and before this was paid, he died of a wound or bruise received in his escape from Paros. Meanwhile, the Greeks were left in security and peace, and the next invasion, under Xerxes, was delayed for a period of ten years.

The date of the battle of Marathon, according to the most satisfactory calculations, is September 12, b. c. 490. The account of the battle in Herodotus, although it is the best that we have, is very far from satisfactory. We have no detailed description of the movements, no account of the feeling in Athens either before or after the victory, no statement (even on conjecture) of the numbers engaged on either side. This silence on some points probably arose from the fact that the invasion of Xerxes was the chief object of interest in his history, and the invasion of Darius was looked upon chiefly as introductory to this. But on other points, especially as to the numbers, we may safely presume that he is silent simply because he had no authentic

information. He is very minute in giving the numbers of the slain, one of which at least (that of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians) he could have known from inscriptions. As to the numbers of the Persians, hardly a guess can be made: they are variously stated by later historians from 600,000 to 110,000, which last is the estimate of Cornelius Nepos. The same historian gives the number of Greeks as 10,000, including 9,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. Others give 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. If this estimate included only the heavy armed, and the usual addition is made for light armed, we shall make the whole Greek force consist of 20,000 or 22,000 men. (See Rawlinson, Appendix to Book VI.)

Herodotus does not mention cavalry in the battle, although he states that the field of Marathon was selected by the Persians because it was excellent for cavalry movements (*εὐπηνέστατοι*). We may suppose the cavalry to have been absent foraging on the day of the battle, which the Persians were not expecting (as Rawlinson suggests); or it may not yet have been landed, for some reason not given. At all events, no account is given of its re-embarkation, which would have been difficult after the defeat.

By the view given in Blakesley's "Excursus," the landing at Marathon was meant only for a lodgement. The region near held many partisans of Hippias, who were also formidable in the city; and if their expected movement had taken place, the Persians might have landed their cavalry, destroyed the little army of the Greeks, and occupied the country at their leisure. This plan was foiled by the generalship of Miltiades, who, after the two armies had held each other several days in check, suddenly extended his wings, and struck his blow so promptly that the Persians were beaten by sheer surprise. They even drove the Athenian centre in rout, as Herodotus says, into the interior (*μετόγαυροι*); the wings, alone, had fled in "panic" flight, and perished in the marshes on the flanks,—the service rendered, at this crisis, by the god Pan. On the whole, the main force must have come off with small loss and in good order, the greatness of the victory being exaggerated by the patriotic pride of the Greeks. Their ships lay moored, stern to the shore, and were easily got off, only seven of the whole fleet being taken or sunk. The battle was won, not by the mere superior valor of the Greeks, but by the skill and energy of their commander, who for many days kept his little army safe from attack, in a well-chosen position, and fought when a longer delay might have been fatal; for the Persians were expecting a demonstration from the disloyal faction in Athens, which was prevented only by the promptness and completeness of his victory.

II.

Page 154. — 1. κεχαραγμένον, *exasperated*, lit. *sharply cut*: the same verb (*χαράσσω*) from which our own word *character* is derived. — δευτεραὶ ἴπολες, comparative of δευτέρα ποιεῖν, *to take (a thing) ill, aegre ferre*.

Page 155. — ἐδούνετο, *was kept in commotion ("din")*. — ὡς . . . στρατευομένων, *since they were to attack Greece*: this phrase gives the reason of ἀριστῶν.

2. τετάρτη ἦται, i. e. probably in the summer of B. C. 487. — Καμβύσης: Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus the Great, had made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B. C. — μᾶλλον ἄρμητο, *was the more eager* (lit. *had been the more impelled*). — στρατομένου, *about proceeding*, i. e. getting ready his στόλος. — παῖδεων: the dispute was between Xerxes and Artabazenes. Xerxes, though the younger, was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, the queen of Darius. Through her he inherited his own claim of sovereignty, and she was now all-powerful at the Persian court. He had, besides, the claim of having been "born in the purple," after Darius came to the throne, — Artabazenes being son of a former wife. — ἕγειροντες, *precedence* as to the succession. — ὡς δέα depends on the idea of demanding vaguely implied in στόλοις ἔγένετο. — οὗτοι refers back to ἀποδέξαντα: the meaning is, that after nominating a successor he should so set forth, i. e. he should *not* set forth *until* he had done this. — παρασκευάζουσιν agrees with Δαρεῖον, which is subject of ἀποθανεῖν. — συνήνεκε, *it happened*.

3. καὶ Ξέρξης: Herodotus represents that Xerxes was at first indifferent to the expedition against Greece, but was urged to it by Mardonius (afterwards slain at Plataea), who hoped to become satrap of Greece. In a royal council held after Egypt was subdued, Xerxes declared his intention to make the invasion by way of the Hellespont, and was supported by Mardonius, but dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, his wisest counsellor, — who, however, yielded to the terror of a vision, which "threatened to burn out his eyes with hot irons" for his opposition to the will of destiny. He now "openly favored the expedition; and so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent." — ἐν τέσσερα ἔτεα, *four full years*, counting from the reduction of Egypt in B. C. 485. — ἀνομένῳ (v. ἀνω), *advancing*, i. e. *in the course of the year*. — χερὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος, *with a mighty (hand of) force*: with this use of χείρ cf. Latin manus. — στόλοιν: this refers to the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, the great Scythian invasion of Media, the war of Troy, and the conquest of Thrace and Northern Greece, still earlier, by the Mysians and Teucrians; "yet not all these," says Herodotus, "nor all others which have ever been, were worthy to be compared with this single one." — οἱ μέν, &c., i. e. the several nations and districts subject to Xerxes. — ἐς πεζὸν ἐτεράχαρο, *had orders for foot soldiers*: τὸ πεζὸν means foot soldiers when opposed to

cavalry, but *land force* (in general) when opposed to a naval armament. — *ἵππος* (fem.), *cavalry*, “*horse*.” — *άρια* (G. 277, n. 1). — *γεφύρας*, see below, § 10.

4. *τοῦτο μέν* (G. 148, n. 4), here with no correlative *τοῦτο δέ*. — *ὅς* implies that *προσπταισάντων* gives the reason of Xerxes for digging the canal through Athos (G. 277, n. 2) : for *προσπταισάντων*, see note on I. § 2. — *προετοιμάζετο* (impersonal), *preparations were made in advance*. — *ἐκ τριῶν ἔτεων*, from a time *three years back*. — *Ἐλαιούντι*, *Elaeus*, at the extreme southwest point of the Chersonesus, was the base of the naval operations at Athos ; the military head-quarters were at Sestos, about eighteen miles above. — *ἀρμεῖον* is from *δρυμός*, while *δρυμέμενοι* is an Ionic form (= *δρυμάμενοι*) from *δρύμα*. — *ἔνδι μαστίγων*, i. e. driven to their work by scourges. See below, § 21 ; and III. § 44, where Hdt. describes the Persians at Thermopylae as driven into the battle by scourges. — *παντοδαποί*, *various detachments*. — *διέδοχοι*, *in relays*.

Page 156. — 5. *σχιωνοτενές*, *a straight line* (as if by a stretched cord). — *βαθεῖα* (for *βαθεῖα*) : at the greatest depth, the canal would be about sixty feet below the surface. — *βάθρων*, *stagings*: the Phoenicians, according to Herodotus, were the only ones skilful enough in engineering to avoid the caving in of the banks by beginning the excavation with double the width required at the bottom. — *πρητήριον*, Ion. for *πρατήριον*, *a market, a place for selling*, from *πρία-* (stem of *πιπράσκω*). — *ἀληστρέμένος* (v. *ἀλέω*), *ready ground*.

6. *ὅς . . . εὑρέσκειν*, *so far as I can find out* (G. 268) : in fact, it was not a very difficult work, and was highly politic, especially in case Greece should be subjugated. The canal, which has been traced, “is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across ; it has been much filled up with mud and rushes.” — *παρέον* (G. 278, 2), *when it was in his power*. — *διεύρυσαι*, *to haul across*, an operation easily performed with the light vessels of the ancients. — *ἔνδρος ὡς . . . πλάνα*, *of [such] width that two triremes could pass through* (G. 266, n. 1). — *ἴλαστρεμένας* (for *ἴλανορένας*), *driven by oars*. — *ζεύγαντας γεφύρωσαί*, *simply to bridge the river* : the Greeks said *ποταμὸν ζεῦξις* (§ 8) and *ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας*, and Hdt. has even *γεφύρας ζευγνύων*.

7. *Κριτάλλων*, the frontier town of Cappadocia. — *γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ*, see below, § 28. — *δεῖπνα*, see below, § 25.

Page 157. — 8. *οἱ δέ* : those who had charge of the work (see *τοῖοι προσεκέτε* below). — *ξεύγνυσαν*, *were* (in the mean time) *building*. — *τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δέ* : understand *γέφυραν* from *ἔγεφύρουν* above. — *βυθίνην*, *of papyrus* : this plant was used by the Egyptians for ropes as well as for paper. — *ἴστι . . . στάδιοι* (G. 135, n. 5).

9. *ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι* (= *μαστιγώσαι*), *to scourge*, here takes *πληγάς* as a cognate accusative (G. 159), *to strike the stream three hundred blows with a lash*. Understand *τινάς* as subject of both *ἐπικέσθαι* (v. *ἔφικνόμαι*) and *κατεῖναι* (v. *καθίημι*). — *ποταμῷ* : the current, about three miles an hour, gives the Hellespont the aspect of a river.

10. τὰς δέ, the bridges. — ὑπό, under, as a support. — ἐγίκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας: the upper bridge may have been made stronger (of three hundred and sixty vessels) to resist the greater force of the stream; or it may have been at a broader part of the channel, which is here about a mile wide. (See Grote's note.) — τοῦ μὲν . . . κατὰ βόον, at right angles with the Pontus, and in the line of the current of the Hellespont (to diminish the resistance). — ήτα ἀνακωχεύην, that it [this arrangement of vessels] might ease (i. e. by lifting) the strain on the tackle: ἀνακωχεύω (kindred to ἀνέχω) means to hold up, with the idea of relieving or keeping quiet (see ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας, keeping the ships off the coast, in I. § 22): so ἀνακωχή means a truce. It is hard to see why (according to the common interpretation, that the force of the stream might keep up the tension of the cables, i. e. keep them taut) there should be any anxiety to provide for the tension of cables which were stretched over a strait a mile wide, and rested on vessels in a stream running three miles an hour! — συνθέντες is repeated after the long parenthesis. — τὰς μὲν . . . τῆς ἑτέρης, [they cast] those (δύκόπας) of [the ships forming] one bridge towards the Pontus. — εἴνεκεν, to guard against. — ξωθεῖν, i. e. from the Euxine. — τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης, i. e. the anchors of the other bridge. — πρὸς ἑστέρης, sc. κατήκαν. — εἴρου, νότου: these were southeast and south winds, both blowing more or less up stream.

Page 158. — διέκπλοον: the small craft (*πλοῖα λεπτά*) would pass in and out underneath the cables.

11. χωρὶς ἔκάτερα, i. e. the flaxen cables and those of papyrus. — εἴλκε, weighed: if the talent here meant is the Euboean, or old Attic, a cubit (eighteen inches) weighed nearly eighty pounds. — τῶν δπλῶν τοῦ τόνου, the stretching of the cables, i. e. the cables, as they were stretched across the strait. — ἐπεξεγύννον, joined them above, either by ropes or by strips of wood.

12. χυτοί, breakwaters. — φῆχτης, surf: the tide in this sea being very slight. — δὲ φλος: no eclipse of the sun, visible at Sardis, took place in b. c. 480, if the latest astronomical calculations can be trusted; the story here told may belong to the departure from Susa in the preceding year, when there was such an eclipse. The date of the invasion of Xerxes (b. c. 480) is too well established to admit of doubt. — ἐπινεφέλων κόντων, genitive absolute: the indicative would be ἐπινεφέλη κότιν, it is cloudy (G. 135, 2). — αἰθρίης (noun), in fair weather, is genitive of time (G. 179, 1). — τὸ ἑθέλοι (= τι ἑθέλοι), τὸ being relative used interrogatively (G. 282, 1). — προδέκτορα, verbal of προδέκνυμι, that which designates or foreshows.

Page 159. — 13. ἀναμίξ, i. e. not divided into separate bodies, as they marched according to cities or provinces. — διελλειπτο, impersonal. — οὗτοι, these, who marched in advance. — προηγένυτο, i. e. led the part of the army which accompanied the king; opposed to οὗτοι — κάτω τρέψατες, this was a mark of respect to the king, who followed them. — Ζεὺς Διός: by Zeus Hdt. means the chief God of the Persians, Auramazda or Ormuzd.

14. **λόγος**, choice or fancy. — **κατὰ νόμον**, i. e. with point upward. — **οὐτος**, the ten thousand just mentioned. — **ρούάς**, pomegranates, probably as sacred emblems. — **ἀντὶ σταυρῶν**, in the place of points at the lower end. — **οἱ . . . τράποντες** (Ion. for **τρέποντες**, present), those who preceded the Nisaeian horses (§ 18).

Page 160. — 15. **Σκάμανδρον**, the *Scamander* of the Iliad: here a shallow brook, in a bed about two hundred feet broad; in the dry season only three feet deep. — **ρέεθρον** (G. 160, 1). — **οὐδὲ ἀπέχρησε . . . πινόμενος**, and did not have water sufficient for the army to drink (lit. did not suffice when drunk, &c.). — **ὡς ἀτίκερο** repeats the genitive absolute **ἀτικομένου** after the long relative clause.

16. “On this transit from Asia into Europe, Herodotus dwells with peculiar emphasis; and well he might do so, since when we consider the bridges, the invading number, the unmeasured hopes succeeded by no less unmeasured calamity, it will appear not only to have been the most imposing event of his century, but to rank among the most imposing events of all history.” Grote. — **καὶ . . . γάρ** are here to be separated, and — *as (for) a seat had been erected for him here, &c.* (See note on I. § 5, above.) — **ἔθηστο = θέατο**. — **ἄρα = ἔρα**, imperfect of **ἔραω**.

17. **ώντηρ = δὲ ὄντηρ**. — **φρασθεῖς**, perceiving (see Lexicon). — **ὡς . . . εἰ περιέσται**, the direct exclamation would be, **πῶς . . . ζητῶν, εἰ περιέσται**; how short is the whole of man's life, if no one . . . is to be alive, &c. (G. 221, N.).

Page 161. — the second **οὖτω** qualifies **εὐδαίμων**. — **τῷ** (G. 237, N.). — **γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰώνα**, after giving [man] a taste of the sweetness of life, lit. a taste of life as (being) sweet. — **φθονερός**, jealous, i. e. lest man should vie with him in blessedness.

18. **τῶνδ' ἔγω** **ὑμέων χρητίων**, wanting this (G. 148, N. 1) of you: so **δέομαι** occasionally takes two genitives, instead of the common construction (G. 172, N. 1). — **ξυνὸν . . . σπεύσεται**, for this which we are seeking is for the good of all in common: the construction being **τοῦτο γάρ σπεύσεται** (passive) [θν] **ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι ξυνόν**: the adjective **ξυνός = κοινός**. — **ἐντεραμένων**, vigorously (adverb formed from participle of **ἐντείνω**). — **τῶν (= ὧν)** for **καὶ τούτων**. — **οὐ μή τις . . . ἀντιστῆ** (2 aorist), an emphatic future expression (G. 257). — **λελόγχαστο** (v. **λαγχάνω**), have in charge (as if assigned by lot): cf. Latin **sortiti sunt**.

19. **τὸν Ήλιον**, the Sun, under the name of *Mithra*, was one of the chief objects of worship in the Persian religion.

Page 162. — **ἢ μιν παύσει** (G. 236). — **πρότερον ἢ . . . γένηται**, = **πρὶν ἀν . . . γένηται** (G. 240, N.). — **ἀκινάκην**, a short, straight-pointed sword, or dirk. — **μαστιγόσαντι** (G. 277, 2).

20. **ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς Ξέρξης**, i. e. after the chariot. — **ἀνήγοντο**, put off from the shore.

21. *εἰδόμενος*, *likening thyself*; *θέμενος*, *taking to thyself*. — έξην . . . ποιέαν (G. 222, n. 2).

22. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, accusative governed by the phrase *ἔω πλάνων*, as if it were a compound verb like *ἐκλείπειν*, which takes the accusative. — πρήσσων τὰ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ πεζοῦ, *taking the opposite direction from the land force* (lit. *dwing the opposite*), i. e. sailing southwest towards the Aegean, while the army marched northeast into Thrace. — Δορίσκον: this was a strong Persian fortress, which had been held since the invasion of Scythia by Darius. (See note on I. § 6.)

Page 163. — 23. πλῆθεος ἀριθμόν, *number of people*. — τοῦ πεζοῦ, *of the foot-soldiers* (as we know from Hdt. VII. 184, where the cavalry are estimated at 80,000 in addition to this number). — τὸ πλῆθος: by this reckoning, 1,700,000 men, a very uncertain estimate, as the numbers might easily be exaggerated in the loose way of counting. Ctesias makes 800,000, and Aelian 700,000; but "we may well believe," says Mr. Grote, "that the numbers of Xerxes were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch of history." — συνέβαρτες ταύτην, i. e. τὴν μυριάδα. Compare κατανέφαντες τὴν γῆν in § 11, above. — ύψος (G. 160, 2).

24. διεξόλατος (G. 138, n. 8) θηγασθαι, *to see them in review* (G. 204, n. 2). — μετά, *afterwards*. — ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταῖ: these lists, it has been thought, may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and been the authority for the account of Hdt. (see Rawlinson). — δσον τε τέσσαρα, *about four*; τε being used by Hdt. after δσος, as it is even in Attic Greek after οτος, *able* (G. 151, n. 4). — ἀνεκάχευον (v. ἀνακοχεῖν). See I. § 22.

Page 164. — ἦντος, *between*, governs both πρεφέων and αἰγαλοῦ.

25. τοὺς . . . ἐμποδόν, *whoever came in his way*. — ἐς τὰν κακοῖ, *into all sorts of distress*. — ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, *lost house and home*. — δκου (= δσον), *at which time*. — Θασίοισι . . . ἀπέδεξε (v. ἀποδείκνυμι), *rendered an account to the Thasians for 400 talents spent (about \$400,000)*. Compare ἀποδεκνύναι λόγον. — ἀραιομένος (v. αἴρεσθαι), *appointed (to manage the business)*.

Herodotus adds: "As soon as the herald's message came, the people would distribute their stores of grain, and proceed to grind wheat and barley-flour for many months' supply; then buy up and fatten the finest cattle; feed poultry and waterfowl in pens and coops for the service of the army; and provide gold and silver drinking-cups and bowls. These things for the king's table only; for the others, food alone. When the army arrived, a tent stood ready spread, in which Xerxes took his rest, while the troops remained in the open air. When dinner-time came, great was the toil of the entertainers; and after spending the night well fed, the army next day tore down the tent, and carried off all it held, leaving nothing."

26. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, *a saying well expressed, a bon mot*. — καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, *also for the future* (as they had done in the present case). — παρέχεν δν, = παρεῖχεν δν (G. 211); depends on the idea of *saying implied in*

συνεβούλευσε: for it would have subjected them to the alternative, &c. — κάκιστα, &c., by the worst fate that ever befell men. (G. 168.)

27. ὑμομένειν, to wait (for him). — ἀπῆκε (v. ἀφίημι), sent off. — Θέρμη δέ τῇ . . . οἰκημάτῃ, and [I mean] Therma which is situated, &c.

The account of the march of Xerxes from Doriscus (§ 25) to Acanthus (§ 27), which is chiefly descriptive, is here omitted. Acanthus is just northwest of the Isthmus of Mount Athos, through which the canal (§ 4) had been dug by order of Xerxes. Here therefore, as is stated in § 27, the king separated from his fleet, sending it through the canal and round the two western capes of Chalcidice to the head of the Gulf of Therma. The only account given by Herodotus of the passage of the fleet through the canal is in the words (VII. 122), διεξέπλωσε τὴν διάρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθρυνομένην. The fleet remained at Therma until its departure for the coast of Thessaly (p. 171, § 5).

Meanwhile Xerxes marched with his army across Chalcidice, from Acanthus to Therma. On the way (according to Hdt. VII. 125) the camels which carried the provisions were attacked by lions (?). On reaching Therma, they encamped on the shore of the Gulf, the camp extending from Therma to the mouth of the Haliacmon on the western coast. South of this river and north of Mount Olympus was Pieria, celebrated as the birthplace and the home of the nine Muses. In this region Xerxes remained (§ 28), until he began his march of eleven or twelve days to Thermopylae (p. 174, § 13).

28. κήρυκες: see p. 156, § 7. — κενοὶ (= κενοί), empty-handed.

Page 165. — ἔταμον δρκιοί: cf. Latin ferire foedus. — καταστάντων εὖ, having come into (i. e. being in) a good condition. — σφί (G. 184, 3, n. 4). — δεκατένται (causal) depends on δρκιοί εἶχε, as if it were *they took an oath to, &c.* (G. 271).

29. Δαρεῖον πέμψαντος: see p. 146, § 2. — οἱ μέν, the Athenians. — τὸ βάραθρον, the pit: this was a deep hole at Athens, like a well, into which the dead bodies of executed criminals (and sometimes even living criminals) were cast, iron hooks in the sides tearing the body to pieces as it fell. Miltiades is said to have counselled this act, wishing to commit the city to inexpiable hostility against Persia. — συνήνεκε (v. συμφέρω) γενέσθαι, chanced to befall. — ἀνεθέλητον, lit. unwelcome, belongs to δὲ τι. — In later times it was believed that the misfortunes of Miltiades were the retribution of this impiety. In Sparta, the wrath of the hero Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the state, and would not be appeased until two noble Spartans had offered themselves in expiation, and surrendered themselves to the Persians; Xerxes, however, generously spared their lives. But their sons, when proceeding as Spartan envoys to Persia, during the Peloponnesian War, were captured by the Athenians and put to death. Then at length, sixty years after it was committed, the crime against the ambassadors of Darius was atoned.

30. κατέτο, was sent forth. — οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι, likely to suffer no harm.

31. **Εξέργομαι**, *I am constrained*. Herodotus is writing some fifty years after the Persian wars, when Athens was unpopular in consequence of the extent of her empire.

Page 166. — ἐπειρώτο ἀντιεύμενοι, *would have attempted opposition*: in Hdt. πειρόματι takes the participle like the verbs mentioned in G. 279, 4, N. — ἡντιούτο and ἔγινετο both refer to past time, like ἐπειρώτο ἀν above (G. 222). — εἰ καὶ πολλά, i. e. *no matter how many*. — κιθῶνες (Ionic for χιτῶνες), an unusual expression for walls: Hdt. once calls a wall a θώρηκ (I. 181), and Demades the orator uses ἑσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως in the same sense. (Krüger.) Compare the English *curtain* of a fortress. — ἐληλαμένοι διά, *extended across*. — προδοθέντες ἀν . . . ἐμουνάθησαν: ἀν belongs to the verb (*not* to the participle). So below, in μουνωθέντες ἀν . . . διπέθανον: in § 32, δρέσσοντες ἀν . . . ἀν ἔχρησαντο, we find ἀν repeated on account of the length of the sentence, as it might have been in the two other cases. (See G. 212, 2; and also *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, Note 1).

32. πρὸ τοῦ, *beforehand* (G. 143, 2). — βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος, protasis to ἦν ἀν, = εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐπεκράτει (G. 226, 1). — ἀν τις λέγων: ἀν belongs to ἀμαρτάνοι: see last note on § 31, above. — τούτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν (accusative after ἔγειραντες) = τούτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Page 167. — 33. The oracles are in hexameter verse (G. 295, 4), and the language is generally an imitation of the Homeric; the constructions are often confused, as would be expected from the fact that the verses were (or purported to be) spoken under the inspiration of the moment. (1.) φεύγει is addressed to the whole people represented by the messengers, as if it were but one person. — ἵσχατα γαῖης, *to the ends of the earth* (G. 162). (2.) δώματα and κάρηνα are governed by λιπών. — τροχοεδός refers to the walls of Athens, which made an irregular circuit around the Acropolis or citadel. (3.) ἐμπέδον (as adverb), *firm, in its place*. (4.) μέσσης (for μέσης), sc. πόλεως. (5.) κατά belongs to ἔρεται (G. 191, N. 3). (6.) Συριγγεός, i. e. *Assyrian*: the Persians, who were highlanders, having learned the use of chariots from the Assyrians of the plain. — διώκων, *driving*: in the Persians of Aeschylus (vs. 83), Xerxes is said to come Σύριον δρόμα διώκων. (7.) ἀπόλει, sc. Ἀρης. (8.) ιδρώτι φεύγεινοι, *dripping with sweat*, in their terror. (9.) κατά belongs to κέχυται: the meaning seems to be that *blood falls in showers from the temple roofs*, in which case the dative δρόφοισι must be explained as in certain Homeric constructions (G. 184, 8, N. 1–4). But καταχέω generally takes the dative in Homer (as the genitive in Attic) in the sense *shower down upon*, which does not suit the present passage as well, but perhaps is correct. — (10.) προϊδόν, *foreboding*, as if the blood were itself terrified. (11.) τρον, apparently addressed to *two messengers*; but the plural follows immediately. — ἐπικίνδυνε, &c., *deluge your souls with woes* (*perfundite animum malis*, Stein); or (as Liddell and Scott translate), *spread a brav spirit*.

over your ills : the former suits the context better : κιδημη is kindred to σκεδάννυμι, scatter.

34. ἔχρέοντο, *fell themselves in*. — προβάλλουσι σφέας αὐτούς, *abandoning themselves to despair* (dat. after συνεβόλευε). — ἵκετρίας (*párbōvus*), *the suppliant olive-branches*. — ἀλθόντας agrees with the omitted subject of χράσθαι, instead of taking the case of σφί (G. 138, n. 8). — ὀναξ (= ὁ ὄναξ) : for the special sense of the title ὄναξ in Homer, see Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 152, according to whom it corresponds nearest with the partly religious and partly feudal term *Lord*. — οὐτ' ἀν τελευτήσωμεν (G. 239, 2).

35. λέγοντι (dative), *as they spoke*. (2.) λιστομένη (G. 277, 5). (3.) ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας (sc. αὐτό), *making it like* (i. e. firm as) adamant. (4.) ὅπος may be either for ὅπος, *mount*, *hill*, or for ὅπος, *boundary* : it may mean, therefore, either the Acropolis of Athens or the bounds of Attica. Cecrops is one of the early (mythical) kings of Athens, in whose reign (says Hdt.) the people were called Κεκροπῖδαι. (5.) Κιθαιράνος, the boundary of Attica towards Delphi (see map). (6.) τείχος ξύλινον, this is the celebrated *wooden wall* of the oracle. (8.) μένειν, infinitive for imperative.

Page 168. — (10.) Επ . . . έσση, *yet a day shall come* (ποτέ) *when thou shalt meet him*. (12.) Rawlinson translates

"When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

36. συνεστριγοῦσι, *opposed*, like wrestlers who stand together in the ring. — ρῆχα, *palisade* : there were a few who clung to this interpretation, and perished on the sacred hill (see IV. § 34). — κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν . . . εἶναι, was (used) with reference to, &c. — τούτο, *this expression*. — συνεχόντο, *were confounded* (con-fusi).

37. Θεμιστοκλέης, a Greek of the Greeks, able, keen-witted, patriotic, and unscrupulous : the man who by his single counsel proved the deliverer of Greece. — εἰ . . . λόντως, *if the saying had really been uttered with reference to the Athenians* (εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον = εἴρητο : Stein). — οὐκ ὅν . . . χρησθῆναι = οὐκ ἀν ἔχρησθη (G. 211). — μήν δοκέειν, (he said) *that he believed*. — τῷ θεῷ, *by the God* (G. 188, 3).

Page 169. — συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ δρόμον, *to one judging rightly* (G. 184, 5) : Themistocles may probably have devised the oracle, as well as the interpretation, wishing to impress the deepest terror at the real danger, so as to overcome the timid clinging to the city, and persuade the people to accept the only chance of safety. — τούτου, *this*, refers to παρασκευάζεσθαι . . . ναυμαχήσοντας : i. e. the ships (here implied) were the *wooden wall* of the oracle. — έγνωσαν, *decided* (G. 200, n. 5b): σφί belongs to αἱρέστερα. — τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι (G. 268, n.), *in short*.

38. ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε, *prevailed (proved to be best) seasonably*. — τῶν ἀπὸ Δαυρέων (G. 191, N. 6) belongs to μεράλλων. — δρυχδόν, *in shares*, to each male citizen. If Hdt. is right (V. 97) is estimating the Athenian

citizens at thirty thousand, the sum must have been fifty talents (about fifty thousand dollars). — δέκα δραχμάς, about two dollars. — χρημάτων, genitive of price. — διηκοσίας : as Athens had only two hundred ships at Salamis, and must have had a fleet before this resolution of Themistocles (Miltiades sailed to Paros just after the battle of Marathon with seventy ships), and as fifty talents are an incredibly small sum for building two hundred ships of war, we must understand Hdt. to mean that this money was used (with other sums from the treasury) in building the fleet of two hundred ships which fought at Salamis. Plutarch (Them. IV.) says the money from the mines was used in building one hundred ships. — τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινῆτας : see above, I. § 3. The Aeginetans at this time had the finest navy in Greece, and they were called θαλασσοκράτερες, *rulers of the sea*, during the ten years from 490 to 480 B. C. Plutarch says of them at this time, κατέχοντας οἱ Αἰγινῆται πλήθει νέων τὴν θαλάσσαν. — ἐς τό, *for what* (for the purpose for which). — ἐς δέον, nearly equivalent to ἐς καιρόν, *seasonably*. — τοῖσι βουλομένοισι (G. 186).

39. ἐς τάντο, *into one place*, probably the Isthmus of Corinth, afterwards the place of meeting of various councils of war (see below, III. § 1). — σφίσιν, *to each other*, as reflexive in sense of reciprocal (G. 146, n. 3; 144, 2). — πρῶτον . . . πάντων, *first of all things*: according to Plutarch, Themistocles proposed this general reconciliation. — ἔγκερημένοι (which is an emendation for ἔγκερημένοι), from ἔγκερνυμι : the wars are said to have been *mixed up or confused*. See πόλεμος συνήπτο above, I. § 3.

Page 170. — πρηγμάτων, objective genitive. — φρονήσαντες εἰ καὶ τῷ γένοντο, &c.: the sense is, they resolved to send these spies and messengers, having formed a wise plan (*φρονήσαντες*) *in case the Greek race should in any way become united*, &c. The apodosis to εἰ . . . γένοντο . . . πρῆστοιεν is suppressed (G. 226, n.), being implied in the context: i. e. *their plan would succeed* (or the like) *in case of union*. See Hdt. VI. 52: βουλομένην εἰ καὶ ἀμφότεροι γενολαβότας βασιλέες, *wishing that both might in some way become kings*, lit. *having a wish* (which would be realized) *in case both should in some way become kings*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 53, n. 2). — ὡς . . . ἐπόντων gives the ground on which the Greeks acted (G. 277, n. 2).

In the narrative which follows, the spies sent to Persia are taken and brought before Xerxes, who “gave orders to his guard to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart’s content ; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired,” — thinking he was thus surest to terrify the Greeks from all thought of resistance. Argos jealously refused the alliance, unless she should have equal command with Sparta, claiming that the supreme authority was justly hers, by right of descent from Agamemnon. She was even charged with having invited the Persians to the invasion of Greece. Gelo (whose exploits in Sicily are told at length) refused his aid, unless he should be put in supreme com-

mand, — to which the Greeks retorted that they came “to ask for an army, and not a general”; so Gelo stood ready to submit if the Persians were victorious. He afterwards claimed, however, that he would have helped the Greeks but for the embarrassment of a war with Hamilcar of Carthage. Coreyra promised help, but kept back her fleet (under pretence of head winds) till the crisis was past. The Cretans refused to assist, having once suffered calamity from Minos (who had perished in his pursuit of Daedalus) for the aid given by Idomeneus in the Trojan war. And the Thessalians submitted, reluctantly, to overwhelming force.

III.

Page 170.—1. *τῇ (= ᾧ), where (in what region).* — *ἐν οἷσι χάροις,* *on what sort of ground.* — *ἐπιβολήν,* i. e. from Thessaly into Central Greece. — *τῆς ἐ Θεσσαλίαν,* i. e. the pass of Tempe, at the mouth of the Peneius. Herodotus gives three reasons why the pass of Thermopylae was preferred: the second (*καὶ μὲν*), that it was *single*, refers to the Persians having entered Thessaly by another route, and not by Tempe as was expected; and to justify the choice on this ground, he mentions the ignorance of the Greeks as to the mountain pass, *τὴν ἄπρατον*, by which Thermopylae was finally turned. — *'Ιστιαῖτιδος,* the territory of Histiaea (afterwards Oreus) in the north of Euboea. (For the bearing of these places, see a map of Greece.) This position was chosen to prevent the Persian fleet from taking the flank or rear of their force at Thermopylae.

2. *τούτῳ μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, first, as to Artemisium: τούτῳ μὲν* corresponds to *ἡ δὲ αὖ . . . ἶσσος* (i. e. *the pass of Thermopylae*) below. — *ἐκ . . . Θρηγίκου, after (coming from) the Thracian sea.* — *συνάγεται (sc. τὸ πέλαγος) ἐς . . . τὸν πόρον, i.e. (the sea) contracts into the strait, &c.* — *ἐκ τοῦ στενοῦ δέκεται, i. e. after passing the strait, the shore (of) Artemisium in Euboea (possessive genitive) comes next: δέκεται is used like ἐκδέχεται and ὑποδέχεται (§ 3), excipit.* — *ἡμιπλεθρον, about 50 feet.* The line of the coast is now much farther from the hill, owing to the deposits made by the river. Rawlinson says: “The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width.” — *τὸ στενότατον τῆς χάρης τῆς ἀλλῆς, the narrowest part of the whole pass:* *τῆς ἀλλῆς* is used as Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as *ἀξιολογότατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, lit. the most notable of those which had preceded it;* and as we often hear a thing called “the most perfect of all others.” See map of Thermopylae at the end of the volume.

Page 171. — 3. *τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης* (G. 160, 2), *towards the west:* in fact, more nearly towards the south; Hdt. thought of the coast as lying from north to south. — *χύτρους, caldrons:* of these there are two, enclosed in masonry. The hot springs of Thermopylae are salt, and of the

temperature of 100° Fahr. — Ἡρακλέος: it was said that these springs were created miraculously that Hercules might have a warm bath after one of his labors. — τὴν Αἰολία, the *Aeolian land*, the more ancient name of Thessaly. This irruption of Thessalians from Epirus is one of the earliest movements mentioned in the traditions of the race afterwards called Hellenic. Thucydides (I. 12) speaks of the migration of Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly into the land afterwards called Boeotia, a result of this Thessalian migration; and he assigns the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy as its date. — ἐπῆκαν, *conducted* (by trenches). — ὡς δν: Homer and Hdt. sometimes used ὡς δν and ὅπως δν with the optative, as all writers do with the subjunctive, without affecting the sense (G. 216, 1, n. 2). Here the δν belongs to the particle, not to the verb (G. 207, 2); in Attic Greek, such an δν would belong to the verb and form an apodosis.

4. ἐν Πτερύῃ: see note on II. § 27, above. — διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, *breaking up* [at, and departing] *from the Isthmus*.

Page 172.—5. ιδι Σκιάθου (G. 182, 2). — Τροιζηνή: this ship was captured by the Persians, who (as Hdt. adds) "took the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him at the ship's prow," reckoning it a good omen, — the more so as the man's name was *Leon*. The two other triremes were taken; but the crew of the Athenian ship escaped. On hearing of this advance of the Persian fleet, the Greeks left their anchorage at Artemisium, and retreated to Chalcis on the western coast of Euboea.

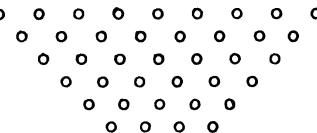
6. περὶ τὸ ξύρι, *upon the reef*: this still lies in the mid-channel. — κομπαρτεῖς, *having brought it* (the column) for this purpose. — καθαρόν, *removed*, i. e. by being made harmless. — ἔνδεκα ἥμέρας: see note on II. § 27, above. — πανημερὸν πλάνοντες: the distance is about 100 miles. — τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης, possessive genitive with the following accusatives. — στρατός, the whole *armament* (army and navy).

In the estimate which follows (VII. 184—187, here omitted), Herodotus makes the whole Persian armament, including army and navy, before the battle of Thermopylae and before the storm, to consist of 2,641,610 men. To the number of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers counted in the review at Doriscus (see above, II. § 23), he now adds 80,000 for the cavalry, 517,610 for the crews and marines of the fleet, 20,000 for Arabs with camels and Libyans with chariots, and lastly 324,000 for the land and sea forces furnished by the Thracians, Macedonians, and Thessalians, whom Xerxes had pressed into his service since he entered Europe (see II. § 25). This immense total of 2,641,610 Herodotus proposes to double, to include all the non-combatants (attendants, crews of corn-vessels, and camp-followers), giving a grand total for the entire host of 5,283,220! Rawlinson, on various grounds, reduces the estimates for the military force to about 1,500,000, taking no account of the still greater exaggerations in the number of non-combatants. "Of all these myriads," says Herodotus, "there was not one who for beauty and stature better deserved to hold this vast power than Xerxes himself."

7. πρόκροσται . . . νέας, *they lay at anchor, arranged alternately (or in a quincunx), heading seaward, and eight rows deep.* The scholia on Il. XIV. 35 explain προκρόστας (sc. νέας) έρυσαν as follows: ὅλην πρὸ διλῆς παραλλήλων ἀνελκυσαν κλιμακηδόν, i. e. *they drew them up in parallel rows like steps; Aristarchus adds, that this would give the appearance of a theatre, κρόσται γὰρ αἱ κλίμακες.* This means the seats of the Greek theatre, which were *steps* like those of a modern circus; and we may refer κλιμακηδόν (= πρόκροσται) to the general appearance of the ships from the sea, which, if they were arranged (for example) as in the figure, might suggest the idea of a *cuneus* in the theatre, especially if the shore were curved, and if the inner rows of ships were drawn up (as here) on a sloping beach. In II. 125, Hdt. says that the *steps* on the outside of the pyramids of Egypt were sometimes called κρόσται. We may, however, refer κλιμακηδόν to the irregular lines in which the ships were arranged from front to rear (as in the second figure). For another explanation, opposed to that of Aristarchus, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. πρόκροσται. — οὔτω (sc. ὥρμεον). — ζεύσασθαι, *having become seething* (i. e. before the storm burst). — ἀπηλιώτης (*ἀπό-ήλιος*), properly an *east wind*, here (*east-northeast*, referring to the 'Ελλησπόντιος. — τοῖσι . . . δρμου, who were so anchored (as to allow it) : for οὔτω εἶχε δρμου (impersonal), see G. 168, n. 3. — οἱ δέ (G. 234; 227, 2), *these.* — ἀνασπάσαντες (G. 279, 4). — μεταρσίας, *at sea.* — θλαβε (sc. δ χειμῶν). — Ἰπνούς, Ovens: see below. — τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα, *the matter of the storm, a common expression for the storm:* cf. ὃς χρῆμα μέγα, *a huge wild boar* (Hdt. I. 36).

Most writers place Sepias, the rocky headland on which the Persian fleet was wrecked, near the southeastern point of Magnesia, or even (as Grote) beyond that point upon the southern coast. For the following account of the topography we are indebted to Professor Sophocles, who was born on the coast of Magnesia, and who has known the whole shore as a boy and studied it as a scholar: —

The east-northeast wind, the 'Ελλησπόντιος of the ancients, is still the terror of navigators on the "barborless coast of Pelion" (Eurip. Alcest. 595). But it is dreaded chiefly *north* of Cape Nekhóri; a vessel overtaken by the wind south of this point can easily enter the channel between Thessaly and Euboea. The rocky headland directly east of the highest point of Pelion agrees best with the accounts of Sepias. Between this and the probable site of Casthanaia (four miles below) are two beaches, separated by a point of rocks. North of Sepias is another small beach, beyond which are several caves in the steep cliffs (τὸν Πηλίφ), which are probably the 'Ιπνοί or Ovens. On these three beaches the fleet must have been drawn up, and here the disaster must have occurred.



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Page 173.—8. Ὀριθύια: Orithyia, daughter of the Attic king Erechtheus, was said to have been carried off by Boreas (the northeast wind), as she was picking flowers on the banks of the Ilissus. The story is pleasantly told in the beginning of Plato's Phaedrus.—έρμηναι, *has gone forth or spread.* — περὶ Ἀθων: see above, I. § 4, and note on I. § 2.

9. λέγουσι διαθαρῆναι is understood with οὐκ ἀλάσσονται. — γηροχόντι, *being a landholder* (*γήροχος* or *γαιρόχος*). — καὶ τοῦτον, *him* too (as well as other men), object of λυπήσαται. — συμφορὴ . . . παιδοφόνος, *a calamity afflicting him by the death of a child* (or children): this seems to imply that he was accidentally the cause of his child's (or children's) death.

10. οὐκ ἐπήν δριθμός, *there was no reckoning.* — καταεῖδοντες γόνητι, *singing incantations by enchanters*: γόνητι is suspected by many recent editors. — ἀνέμῳ belongs to both participles. — Θέτι, *Thetis*, the sea-goddess, mother of Achilles. It was said that the place at which Thetis was seized by Peleus was called Sepias, because she there changed herself into a cuttlefish (*σηπία*) to escape her lover.

Page 174.—11. ὅπιστω ἡπείγοντο: see note on § 5, above. — ἔπινυμιν . . . νομίζοντες, *keeping up the name*, i. e. continuing to invoke Poseidon with this title of *Saviour*.

12. τὴν ἄκρην: the southeast cape of Thessaly, often mistaken for Sepias itself. — ιθέαν (sc. ὁδόν), *straight*. — φέροντα, *leading* (Pagasae being at the head of the bay, the Gulf of Volo). — εὗτ' . . . ἐπλεον, i. e. on the Argonautic expedition, τὸ κώας being the famous Golden Fleece. — Ἀφέται, *Aphetae*, or place of *departure*, from ἀφίημι (through ἀφερος) in its neuter sense seen in ἀφήσειν, *to set sail*.

13. πορευθέσις: see note on II. § 27, above. — ἐς Μηλιέας, i. e. into the land of the Malians, at the head of the Gulf of Malis, in whose territory was the outer end of the pass of Thermopylae. — τὸ βέσσερον (G. 160, 1) belongs to ἀπέχοντες: see note on II. § 15, above.

Page 175. — οὗτος is not antecedent to δοτίς, but repeats the idea of the relative clause for emphasis.

14. διμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχήη, *ebb and flow* of the tide, which is seldom sufficient to be noticed in the Mediterranean. — λόντι (G. 184, 5). — βοηθούντα, *as an aid*: the future is more common in this sense (G. 277, 3). — καυομένῳ, *when he burnt himself* on Mount Oeta. — ἀποφανῆναι (G. 203).

15. κατ' οὐ, *at which = where*, referring to ταύτῃ (where οὐ would have been more regular). — διστοχλία . . . πλέθρα, 22,000 *plethora*, i. e. in surface: the πλέθρον is a long measure of 100 (Greek) feet in length, or a square measure of 10,000 square feet; the Trachinian plain, therefore, must have contained nearly 8 square miles.

16. Ἀσωποῦ, not to be confounded with the Boeotian Asopus (see above, I. § 13).

Page 176.—**Αμφικτύοστ**, i. e. for the Amphictyonic Council, which met twice in each year, once at Thermopylae and once at Delphi. The word **Αμφικτύονες** (the same as **ἀμφικτίονες**) originally meant *neighbors*, and shows the origin of this and other similar assemblies. The hero Amphictyon, whose temple is here mentioned, was probably invented to connect the foundation of this famous council with the Greek mythology.

17. Θερμο-πύλαι, from the *hot* springs. — φερόντων (like ἔχόντων just before it), *extending*: see note on § 12, above. — τὸ ἐπὶ . . . ἡπέρου (G. 160), *as regards what was on this continent* (Greece): see above, § 3.

18. τοσοῦτοι μέν, i. e. the 2120 just mentioned.

19. ήκοεν represents ήκομεν of the direct discourse (G. 200, n. 3). — οὐ γάρ θεον εἶναι: the indirect discourse changes here from the optative to the infinitive (G. 246). — τῷ (= φ) . . . συνειχθῆ: this aorist, being in a dependent clause, could not be changed to the optative (G. 247, N. 2). — δοφελεν . . . πεσεν δν, *ought to fall*: δν may belong to δοφελεν (= δοφελοι δν), *it would be his due to fall*; or it may belong to πεσεν (*πέσοι δν*), *it is his due that he should fall* (if he should test his fortune). In the former case it is very irregular in its position; in the latter, in its construction. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 2, n.; § 41, N. 4.)

Page 177.—20. Hdt. honors Leonidas, the king of Sparta who belonged to the elder branch of the royal family, by giving his genealogy through the line of Spartan kings up to Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Hercules, one of the semi-fabulous Heraclidae who led the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The twin sons of Aristodemus—Eurysthenes and Procles—founded the two lines of Spartan kings. (See Smith's larger History of Greece, Chap. IV.)

21. έργενος γόνου (G. 180, 1, N. 2): Leonidas became king in 491 B. C. — εἶχε, i. e. in marriage. — τούς κατεστεῶτας, *the established number* of 300, this being the regular body-guard of a Spartan king; Leonidas, however, knowing the desperate nature of the present undertaking, instead of taking youths, as usual, now took only those who had sons living, that no family might become extinct.

22. κατηγόρητο, impersonal (G. 134, N. 2), *it had been charged against them*, μηδένεν being the subject. — εἴτε συμπέμψουσι: the future optative might be used (G. 243). — διλοφρονέοντες, *reluctantly, or leaning to the other side*.

23. Ίνα . . . στρατεώνται (G. 216, 2); subj. on the principle of indirect discourse. — μηδέ, *and not*, sc. Ίνα: *and that these too might not join the Persians in case they should learn, &c.* (G. 248). — ὑπεβαλλομένους, *backward, putting off*. — Κάρνεα, the same festival which kept the Spartans from Marathon: see note on I. § 8. — δρόσαντες, *after keeping the festival*.

Page 178.—*ἴνεντο* (*v. νόέω*). — ὃς δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπει τοῦτο, pleonastic. — *συμπεσοῦται* (like an adjective with ήν), coincident: the Olympic festival occurred every fourth year on the first full moon after the summer solstice, about a month before the Spartan Carneia.

24. *Δλεῖσθαι* (G. 138, n. 8). — *περισπερχεόντων*, being much incensed. the word is very doubtful, and most probably a mistake for *περισπερχθέντων* (see Liddell and Scott). — *δλέξασθαι* depends on *δλίγων*, too few.

25. *δύσσοι . . . ποιότειν* (G. 243): the direct questions would be *πόσου εἰσίν*, and τί ποιώνται; — *τοὺς ἡγεμόνας* (G. 160, 1), by anticipation, instead of being subject of εἴρηται. — *Ἑρμαλεῖδης*: see above, § 20. — *πῶν μὲν οὐ, not the whole*, in antithesis to δὲ τοὺς ἕψο. — *ἀλογῆς . . . πολλῆς*, i. e. *very little notice was taken of him*. — *δπάπτει* (*v. δράω*).

Page 179. — 26. *δλλὰ . . . γάρ, but . . . since*. — *Δημάρητος*: Demaratus was king of Sparta in the younger or Proclid line, but was declared illegitimate and succeeded on the throne (491 b. c.) by the next heir, Leotychides; soon after which he left his country to join the Persians. He proved the most sagacious counsellor of Xerxes, but was almost always overruled by the jealousy of the Persian court-officers. — *γέλωντά με θεῖν*, you made fun of me. — *ἄγαν μέγιστος ἐστι, it is my utmost endeavor*.

27. *νόμος*, (here) custom. — *οὕτῳ ἔχων*, of this nature. — *τοσοῦτοι, so few*. — *χρᾶσθαι* (G. 269).

28. *παρεῖηκε* (*v. παρεῖημι*), let pass. — *φερόμενοι, impetuously*. — *ἐπεσήσαν, came up to succeed them* (*ἐπι-*). — *καίπερ* (G. 277, n. 1 δ).

Page 180. — *πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποι, δλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες, many people, but few men*.

29. *τρηχίσθιος περιεπούντο*, were roughly handled: *περιέπειν* = to follow round, to tend, to treat, &c. — *ἐκδεξάμενοι, succeeding*: see note on § 2, above. — *δεαδάτους, Immortals*: this body of 10,000 picked Persians were so called because the vacancies in their ranks were immediately filled, so that the number always remained the same (Hdt. VII. 83). — *κατεργασθμενοι, sc. τοὺς Ἑλληνας*. — *οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντα, gained no more*: see below, § 32, *μέγα τι οὐσεσθαι*. *

30. *δλλὰ τε . . . καὶ, showing, both in other ways, and especially [in this]*. — *ἔξεποτάμενοι*, used (like an infinitive) with *δποδεκνύμενοι*, showing that they thoroughly (τε) understood how to fight, &c. (G. 280). — *δκος ἐπρέψεων* (G. 233). — *φεύγεσκον* (G. 119, 10). — *δῆθει* implies that the flight was a pretence. — *ἄν* belongs to *τπέστρεφον* in the iterative construction (G. 206), not in apodosis. — *καταλαμβανόμενοι, when they were overtaken* (in their pretended flight). — *είναι* (G. 265). — *δινύετο* (G. 126, 5; 119, 3), imperfect for *δινάντο*.

31. *δναδραμεν, leapt*. “With the grave Orientals, nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.” Blakesley. — *κατατεργαματίσθαι*, indirect discourse with

Πεσθαι after **Διπλαντος**. — τὴν ἀτραπόν, the secret *path* mentioned above in § 1. — **ἐνέρων** (*v. ἐνοράω*).

Page 181. — 32. δ τι . . . πρήγματι (G. 244; 188, 1, n. 2). — **διέ-
θειρε**, *brought destruction upon*. — **Πυλαγόρων**, a portion of the delegates to the Amphictyonic council were so called. The meeting of the council was called **Πυλατα** from **Πύλαι** (see note on § 16, above), even when it met at Delphi.

33. **Πυλαγόρος**: there is also a form **Πυλαγόραι**. — **πάντως κου . . .
πυθόμενος**, *having certainly gained the most accurate knowledge*. Many names were current of persons said to have betrayed the pass to Xerxes; probably it may have been made known by more than one, in a region where many favored the invasion, and many more were in terror of the invader. — **τοντὸ δὲ, and secondly**. — **εἰ . . . ὀμληκὼς εἴη**, *if he should have had
much to do with the region*, i. e. as a consequence of *having had* much to do with it (G. 202, 2): for the force of the rare perfect optative, see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 18, 1, with Note.

34. **Ἔρεσ** (*v. ἔρεσκω*). — **τῶν ἑστρατήγες** (see note on § 29). — **ἀρμέατο** (G. 119, 3), for **ἄρμηντο**. — **περὶ λύχνων ἀφεδ**, *about lamplight*.

Page 182. — **τότε** (see note on § 3, above). — **ἐν σκήπῃ τοῦ πολέμου**, *sheltered from the war* (G. 167, 3). — **ἐκ . . . χρηστῆ**, *at so remote a period* (see G. 191, n. 6) *had it* (the path) *been shown by the Malians* (G. 188, 3) *to be a pernicious thing*: **οὐδὲν χρηστή** (commonly **οὐδὲν χρήσιμος**), *of no good*, is a euphemism for *bad*: these words are sometimes understood to refer to the pass of Thermopylae itself (**ἐσβολήν**), and to mean that *the Malians had so long ago shown to be useless*.

35. **Μελάμπυνος**: this was an epithet of Hercules, implying manliness and strength. — **Κερκάπων**: these Cercopes were droll, mischievous dwarfs, who appear often in the stories of Hercules, sometimes amusing and sometimes tormenting the hero. In the local legend of Thermopylae, they appear as footpads lurking about the pass (hence their *seats*, **ἴσπας**, at the narrowest place), where they steal the arms of Hercules while he is sleeping. Hercules seizes two of them and ties them to a pole, which he throws over his shoulders and walks away with them. They have been warned by their mother to beware of the **Μελάμπυνος**; and on seeing this characteristic of Hercules as they are swinging behind him, they make such sport of him that finally he too begins to laugh at their jokes and releases them. A bas-relief taken from a temple at Selinus in Sicily represents Hercules carrying the two Cercopes on his shoulders. The stone called **Μελάμπυνος** probably had some imaginary resemblance to the sleeping Hercules.

36. **τὰ Οἰταλῶν**: the mountain (usually called Callidromus) over which the path led forms a part of the Thessalian range of Oeta: the words **ἐν
θεῖῃ** refer to the march southward and eastward after crossing the Asopus. — **ρυσόμενοι**, *keeping guard* (as protectors). — **φρουρέοντες**, *guarding* (as sentinels). — **ἡ κάτα ἐσβολή** (G. 141, n. 3), i. e. Thermopylae itself. — **ὑποδεξίμενοι**, *having pledged themselves* (or given a promise) *to Leonidas*.

37. ἀναβεβηκότας (G. 280). — ὡδε, *as follows*, belongs to ήμαθον. — ένθισυντο . . . ένθυμάντος (G. 199, N. 1) : as they were putting on *their own* armor, the middle is more exact. — οἱ βάρβαροι is subject of ἔγινονται. — φανήσονται (G. 203, N. 2).

38. μὴ . . . ξεστοι, *lest they might prove to be* (G. 218 ; 216, 2).

Page 183. — φεύγοντες (G. 279, 4, N.). — δρχήν, *originally*, i. e. on purpose to attack them. — παρεσκευάζετο (G. 108, 4, I.). — οἱ δέ refers to Πέρσαι, the subject of the preceding clause : this is not an Attic usage (G. 143, 1).

39. ήσοι (G. 55, N. 1). — έπει, *besides* (G. 191, N. 2). — οὐδέτοι, the diviner and the deserters. — οὐδὲ ξεν, *forbade*.

40. οὐδὲ ήχαν (G. 203, N. 1), depends on λύγεται, by a change of construction (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — δρχήν : see § 38, above ; δρχήν may often be translated *at all*, like Latin *omnino*. — τῇ γνώμῃ πλειστός είμι, *I am most strongly inclined to the opinion* : so πολὺς είμι (see Liddell and Scott). — κελεύσαι (G. 203) depends on the phrase τῇ γνώμῃ πλειστός είμι. — αὐτῷ, intensive. — ήχαν (G. 203, N. 1). — θλείπετο, *awaited*. — οὐδὲ έγινε-φέρο, *remained undiminished*.

41. γενέσθαι . . . διπλεῖσθαι : we should expect these to be in the future, on the principle of indirect discourse (G. 203) ; but verbs signifying *to give an oracle* are exceptional, probably because they imply a *command*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1, N. 2). — “The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering.” Blakesley. It was related that Leonidas, before he left Sparta, gave instructions to his wife Gorgo for her conduct in widowhood ; and that “funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence.”

Page 184. — (2.) Περσείδηστοι, *descendants of Perseus* : Herod. (VII. 61) says that the Persians received their name from Perseus, son of the Greek hero Perseus ; a mere device to unite the two similar names. — (3.) τὸ μὲν οὐκὶ . . . δέ, *not this, but, &c.* — (4.) σύρος (= δρός, *boundary*), *Sparta's bounds*. — (5.) τόν (G. 140), *him*, i. e. the invading Persian. — (7.) έπει-ρον, *one or the other*. — δια-δάστραι (v. δατέρωματ or δαλοματ). — διποτέμψαι and οὐχεῖσθαι depend on τῇ γνώμῃ πλειστός είμι in § 40, being partly a repetition of κελεύσαι, &c. in that passage. All from μένονται δέ (§ 40) through the oracle is a sort of parenthesis.

42. τὸ δύεκαθεν, *by descent*. — οὐδὲ διπλείπετο, *remained not behind*, i. e. *did not separate himself* from the army. Krüger.

43. Θηβαῖοι δέκοντες : as unwilling hostages, they could have been of little service ; it is probable that this is the representation made afterwards by the Thebans, to reconcile themselves with the Persian conqueror. (See § 55.) Their politics were at this time “essentially double-faced and equivocal.” Grote. A later orator, confounding Thespians and Plataeans, says of the latter, that one half the adult citizens perished in the pass,

and the remainder fought in the Athenian fleet at Artemisium and Salamis. — οὐκ ἔφοραν, said that they would not, &c. — ἀπολιπόντες (G. 188, N. 8).

44. ὃς δυρῆς . . . πληθάρην, until about full-market time, i. e. the last part of the forenoon, before μεσημβρία.

Page 185. — χῶρος, here = space to be passed over. — τὸ μὲν γέρ . . . ἀφιλάσσετο refers to the fight of the two preceding days.

45. πολλοί refers to the Persians: but the subject changes suddenly at τὸ γέρ. — τὸν πτολυμένον, the dying. — βάρης δύον εἶχον μέγιστον, their utmost strength; like ὃς μέγιστον expanded into ὃς (or δύον) ἀδινατό μέγιστον. — παραχρέμενοι (sc. τοῖς σάμασιν), making their lives of no value. — ἀρέοντες, reckless. — κατεργότα (v. κατ-ἀγνυμ). — οἱ δὲ, referring to τοῖς πλίσοι, not Attic (see note on § 38, above).

46. γνόμενος, having proved himself (not having been). — τὰ οὐνόματα: the names of the 300 could still be read on a column in Sparta in the time of Pausanias, 600 years afterwards. — οἰκον, his estate. — ὃς ἔστησε gives the reason of Artanes himself.

Page 186. — τοῦτον ἐπεξίσων, rescued his body. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years later, according to Pausanias; when the column just mentioned was erected. — τοῦτο συνεστήκει, this kind of battle continued.

48. πλὴν Θηβαίων: see below, § 55. — λέων, with reference to the name Δεωνίδης. — τοῖσι . . . περιεύσαται, such of them as happened still to have them (μάχαιραι) left. — καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, as we say “tooth and nail,” but of course with no comic idea. — ἐξ ἐναντίῃ, in front. — περισταθέν (adv. from stem of περιστῆμι), so as to surround them.

49. πρὶν ή (G. 274, N.). — τοσοῦτο . . . εἴται depends on Κόη implied in what precedes. — τὸν δέ, but he, irregularly inserted, as if the sentence had not been introduced by the relative τόν, to which πυθόμενον belongs. — ὃς ἀγγέλλοις depends on the past tense εἴπειν (G. 203; 201, N. 2). — εἰ . . . ἦσσοι represents εἰ ἦσται in the direct form (G. 221, N.), if it was to be (not if it should be).

51. αὐτῷ ταντῇ τῇ περ ἔπεισον, there (i. e. at Thermopylae), on the spot where they fell. — σφί refers to the Spartans and Thespians. — πρότερον ή . . . οὐχεσθαι, like πρὶν ή in § 49: the subject of οὐχεσθαι is τοὺς συρμάχους understood, which is also implied (in the genitive) after τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασι. — ἐπιγέραπται: this verb applies especially to inscriptions, properly called ἐπιγράμματα (see below, after the inscriptions).

Page 187. — Πελοποννάσον: the Doric form, with ā for η (G. 30, 1). In the preceding verse, τὰδε and τριάκοσια are sometimes substituted (on conjecture) for the Ionic forms of the MSS., which can hardly be correct. — χιλιάδες τέτορες: the number who fought (ἐμάχοντο), although Herodotus elsewhere speaks as if 4,000 fell (VIII. 25). The inscription refers only to those from Peloponnesus, who (according to § 18) amounted to 3,100. But

later writers speak of 700 or 1,000 Lacedaemonians *besides* the 300 Spartans; and these must be included, although Herodotus makes no mention of them. The whole question of the numbers at Thermopylae is much disputed. The stern simplicity of the second inscription has made it especially famous. — *ἀγέλλειν* is used for the imperative (G. 269). — In the third inscription, *Μεγαστία* is Doric genitive (G. 39); and *οὐκ ἔτλη* = *scorned* (Rawlinson). — *ἴψω ή, except.* — *Σιμωνίδης*: Simonides, the great lyric poet of Ceos, was often considered the author of all three epigrams. His still more famous ode on the heroes of Thermopylae (or perhaps only a fragment) is preserved by Diodorus: —

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θαυμάτων
εὐκλετῆς μὲν ἀ τύχα, καλὸς δὲ πότμος,
βωμὸς δὲ τάφος, πρὸ γάρν δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δὲ οἰκτος ἔπανος.
Ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιούτον οὐτ' εὑρώς
οὐθὲ δὲ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
Οὐ δὲ σακὸς οικέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἐλλάδος εἶλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας
δὲ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, δρετὰς μέγαν λελοιτὼς
κύριον δέναντι τε κλέος.

“Of those who at Thermopylae were slain,
Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;
Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,
To honor them; and praise, but mourn them not.
Such sepulchre nor drear decay
Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.
Within their grave the home-bred glory
Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story
A wreath of famous virtue ever lives.”

Translated by STERLING.

52. *παρέν* = *παρόν* (G. 278, 2). — *μεμετιμένοι* (see *μεθίημι* in Cat. of Verbs). — *οὐκ ἔθελήσαν* depends on *λέγεται* in the first line. — *τὸν εἷλεται*, his Helot servant: each Spartan soldier was entitled to be accompanied by seven Helots, and probably many of these fell in the first battles at Thermopylae, unmentioned by the historian (see, however, VIII. 25). — *λαπτούχειν*, (here) faint-hearted.

53. *εἰ . . . ἦν, if it had been* the case. — *κομδήν, return*: see *κομδίζεσθαι*.

Page 188. — *προσθέσθαι δν* (= *προσθέσθαι δν*) depends on *λέγεται* in § 52. — *προφάσιος* (G. 171, 1).

54. ἥτίμωτο, *he was disgraced*, as the perfect ἥτίμωται means *he is disgraced*. — ἐν Πλαταιῇσ, i. e. at Plataea, in the following year (479 B. C.). — διδλαβί, *he made up for*. — ἐπενεχθεῖσαν (v. ἐπιφέρω).

55. ὡς . . . μηδέουσι . . . διτικολατο (G. 243).

Page 189.—56. πλεύνας = πλέονας. — σχόντα . . . Πλαταιέων: this attack of the Thebans on Plataea was the first hostile act committed in the Peloponnesian War (481 B. C.).

57. τῇ δληθεῖῃ *truthfulness*. — τὰς διεξόδους, “*the ins and outs*.” — οἱ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, *since you were once their king*. (See note on § 26, above.) The counsel of Demaratus (here omitted) was that Xerxes should occupy with part of his fleet the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, which would draw off the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus, and put all Greece in his power. This wise counsel was overruled by the Persian Achaemenes. It was followed afterwards by the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian War.

58. διπολυμόντας, sc. τινάς. — δῆλα . . . γέγονε (G. 135, 2). — τῶν (= ὄντων) . . . διθράπων (G. 154, Note).

IV.

Page 190.—1. ναυτικὸν στρατόν: the return of the Greek fleet from the Euripus to its position at Artemisium has been mentioned in III. § 11. After describing the battle of Thermopylae in the Seventh Book, Herodotus begins the Eighth Book with the sea-fight at Artemisium, which took place on the same three days with the battles at Thermopylae (see below, § 15). — Πλαταιέων: see I. §§ 11–13. — πεντηκοντέρους: these were vessels of the older style with fifty oars, all in one row; while the triremes, the more modern ships of war with three banks of oars, were specially called νῆσες, sometimes νῆσες μακραῖ.

2. ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον (G. 191, N. 6). — ἡγεμονεῖη, *be commander-in-chief*.

3. ἐς Σικελίην: see II. § 39. — εἰ στασιστούσοι, ὡς ἀπολέται (G. 223, N. 1; 247). — τοσούτῳ . . . δυσῷ (G. 188, 2).

Page 191.—μέχρι . . . θέσοντο, *so long as they (the Athenians) were in extreme need of them* (the Peloponnesian allies): μέχρι δυσῶν here = δυσῶν χρόνον. The desertion of these allies, all of whom acknowledged the headship of Sparta, would have withdrawn 113 ships. — τερπλήσθησαν ἑκένων, i. e. to liberate the Greeks in Asia Minor and the islands: this refers to the beginning of the Confederacy of Delos (about 477 B. C.). See notes, p. 31.

4. Ἀφεράς: see III. § 12, above. — παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἢ ὡς κατεδάκεον, pleonastic for *otherwise than as they expected*, παρὰ δόξαν being more emphatic than the simple ἔτρεψαν. — δρησμόν, *a retreat*, which would have betrayed the force at Thermopylae to destruction, besides leaving Euboea

unprotected against the Persian fleet. — προσ-μένειν . . . χρόνον, *to wait a little longer.* — Θεμιστοκλέα: Herodotus is writing after Themistocles had died in exile, when even his disinterested acts were liable to be suspected of corruption. But whatever we may think of his personal motives, we may easily believe that he used money furnished by the richer Euboeans in the way described in § 5. — ἐπ' φ . . . ποιήσονται (G. 236, N. 2 and 3).

5. ἐπισχεν (G. 266). — ἤσπαυρε, *struggled*, i. e. *resisted*. — ἀπολιπόντι represents εἰ ἀπολίπους, as protasis to πέμψεις δν (G. 226, 1). — ἤπιστέατο, imperfect, *supposed* (G. 126, 5; 119, 3): cf. έδυνατο above, III. § 30.

Page 192. — 6. εἰ κως ἔλοιεν (G. 226, 4, N. 1), *in case they should capture them*, i. e. to capture them if they could. — καταλάβοι, *should close in about them* (and save them), — an unusual meaning. — καὶ ἐμελλον δῆθεν . . . περιγενέσθαι, *and they were likely (as the Persians thought, δῆθεν) to make their escape* (i. e. if their flight was not hindered); whereas (§ 4), according to their (the Persians') talk, *not even a torch-bearer was to come off alive*. The torch-bearer in an army or fleet kept alive the sacred fire which was brought from home, and his person was held sacred. His fall, therefore, implied the utter annihilation of the whole army. It was a common saying that "not even a torch-bearer escaped" (*οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη*), implying utter destruction.

7. πρὸς ταῦτα δν: this corresponds to ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀντίης in § 6, taking the place of a clause with δέ. — ὡς δν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — οἱ μέν, i. e. those who sailed round Euboea; σφές δέ, *and they*, i. e. the main force; both in apposition with the subject of περιλάβοιεν. — ἐξ ἐναντίης, *in front*, like ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης in § 6. — τὰς ταχθέσας, i. e. the two hundred.

8. αὐτὸς περιβάλετο, *got for himself*. — ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε, but [had not done so], *for he had never had [such] an opportunity as then.* — ξτι, *at length.*

Page 193. — ἐς δύδοκοντα: a swim of about nine miles! This is matched by another later story, that, during the storm at Sepias, the same man with the help of his daughter (also a diver) destroyed many Persian ships by diving down and loosening their anchors.

9. ἀποδεδέχθω, v. ἀποδεκνυμ (G. 202, 2, N. 1). — ὡς γένοιτο, *that it had taken place* (G. 243).

10. ἐπενείκαντες, *ascribing* or *imputing*. — καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, *resolved on this*; καταφρονέν has this rare sense only in Ionic Greek. — ἐς μέσον implies that they hoped to get the Greeks *into the circle* which they were about to make. — ἐπιστάμενοι, *feeling sure*. — ἀπονοστήσα, *would return safe*. — ηδομένοισι τὴν (G. 184, 3, N. 5). — δκως . . . λάμψεια depends on the idea of *striving in ἄμυλλαν ἐποιεύντο* (G. 217).

Page 194. — 11. ὡς ἵστημην, *when the signal was given* (G. 134, N. 1 d). — ἐς τὸ μέσον: the sterns were brought together as the prows were turned toward the enemy on every side. — ἕργου εἶχοντο, *held to the work*. — κατὰ

στόμα, beak to beak. — **Σαλαμῖνων**: the Salamis in Cyprus is meant; but ἐν Σαλαμῖνι below refers to the island near Athens.

12. μέσον θέρου, midsummer: τῆς ὥρης is partitive genitive. The battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium took place in July, 480 B. C. — κατιστάτο, imperfect, = καθίσταντο. — ἀπίζοντες, apprehending. — ἐς οἰα = ὅτις τοιάντα, causal relative (G. 238). — ρέματα Ισχυρά, swollen torrents.

Page 195. — 13. δκως ἄν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — τὰ Κοῦλα, the *Hollows* of Euboea are probably on the southwest side, opposite Attica.

14. ἐπεβάθεον, came as reinforcement: these 53 ships, added to those mentioned in § 1, raised the Athenian fleet to the full number of 200. — τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, the same time of day (see § 9, above).

15. σφι λυπαίνεσθαι, should harass them (G. 184, 2). — τὸ διπδ Ξέρξεω, what Xerxes might do. — οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks both at Thermopylae and at Artemisium; οἱ δὲ to the Persians at both places: πόρου refers to the passage by sea and that by land. — δκως κρατήσουσι (G. 217, N. 2).

Page 196. — 16. παραπλήσιοι, equally matched, not in numbers, but as is explained in the next sentence. — αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἔστρων ἐπιτίπε: a Corinthian speaker in Thucyd. I. 69 speaks of the armament of Xerxes as αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλέντα. — τράπεσθαι (Ionic present passive), in apposition with χρῆμα.

17. παλήσει, should suffer: cf. ἡν τι καταλαμβάνη (G. 248). — σημαίνει depends on προσεγέτακτο and also on ἔτοιμον. — ἐς ἀναβολάς, with delay. The fleet had suffered so severely in the engagements, — half of the Athenian ships being disabled, — that it had already determined to withdraw; and, by advice of Themistocles, the Greeks were slaughtering the cattle of the Euboeans for their own supplies.

18. περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, i. e. on the northern shore of Euboea, where the Persians would land for drinking-water. — ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας: Attica was called the parent city of the Ionians in Asia Minor. — μάλιστα μὲν, best of all. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμέν ξεσθε (G. 184, 3, N. 6), i. e. be neutral.

Page 197. — καὶ αὐτοί, opposed to τῶν Καρῶν. — ἡ ἔχθρη . . . γέγονε: i. e. in the assistance given by Athens in the Ionic revolt. — βασιλέα, object of λαθόντα. — ἐπείτε ἀνενεχθῇ: Herodotus occasionally omits ἄν in this construction, contrary to the usage in Attic prose (G. 234; 223, N. 2). — διαβληθῆ (sc. τὰ γράμματα), should be misrepresented (G. 248, N.).

In the interval which follows, Xerxes is said to have brought the soldiers of his fleet to Thermopylae, that they might view the Grecian dead, — concealing the trenches where 20,000 of his own dead lay buried, — “truly a laughable device,” says Herodotus, “which deceived nobody; on one side a thousand men lying about the field [as if these were all the Persians had lost], and on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.” He is also related to have asked of some Arcadian deserters what the Greeks were doing. “Holding the Olympic games,” was the reply, and “seeing

wrestling and chariot-races." "And for what prize?" he asked. "An olive-wreath to the winner." Upon which a Persian officer exclaimed, "What men are these against whom we are brought out to fight?—men who contend with one another for honor, and not for gain!" At this time, too, the Thessalians (who had an old border-feud with the Phocians) sent a messenger into Phocis, offering, for a ransom of fifty talents, to save the district from being ravaged by the Persians: to which the Phocians replied, that they were free as the Thessalians to make friends with the Medes, if they chose; but they would never of their own will be traitors to the liberties of Greece. This heroic answer greatly endeared them in later times to the Athenians; but the opinion of Herodotus was, that their ancient hate would have led them to choose the side opposite to the Thessalians, whichever that had been.

19. *ἐς τὴν Δεσπότα*: it is strange that Herodotus represents the whole army of Xerxes as marching into Boeotia by the road which leads through Doris and Central Phocis by the valley of the Cephissus,—a road which, by crossing a mountain ridge, avoided the pass of Thermopylae altogether. Stein remarks, that probably a part of the army at least passed through Thermopylae and took the upper road, which appears from the names of towns on that route which were burned by the Persians. This road also would be the only one practicable for the cavalry.—*ποδεάν*, *footlet* or *spur* (see Lexicon). — *ἡ περ* refers to Doris. — *μητρόπολις*, i. e. the starting-place of the Dorian emigration: the earlier home of the race was in Thessaly. — *οὐκ θόκει*, i. e. the Thessalians advised against it.

20. *ἡ κορυφή*, the name Tithorea was given to one of the summits in the mass of mountains called Parnassus: the place here mentioned was probably a natural fortress described by Plutarch (Sull. 15), below the highest peak of Tithorea; the present Velitza. — *κατὰ Νέαντα, ἀτ* (or *above*) *Νεον*. — *καμένη ἐπ' ἑντῆς*, *lying by itself*; i. e. a solitary peak. — *ἀνηρείσκαντο*, understand *their* possessions.

21. *Παραποταύλους*, "Riverside," a town and people of the same name on the Cephissus.

Page 198.—*τὰς δὲ πόλις . . . ξεωγον*, *were protecting their cities*, i. e. when the Persians entered Boeotia.

23. *εἰτε . . . κατορθώσωτε*, (G. 244): the direct question being *κατορθώσετε*; *shall we bury them?* (G. 256). — *αἴτος* before *εἰτε* is adjective (G. 138, N. 8). — *πέρι* (G. 191, N. 4). — *πέρην*, i. e. across the Gulf of Corinth. — *Καρύκιον δύντρον*, the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, was high above Delphi, in the side of one of the heights of Parnassus. It is described as about 300 feet deep, 40 feet high, and abounding in stalactites.

Page 199.—24. *ἀπάρεον*, *were in sight of*. — *Προνηῆς*, a title of the Delphian Athena (Attic *Προναΐα*), who was so called because her temple stood on the way leading to the great temple of Apollo, being thus *before*

the temple (*πρὸς ναοῦ*). — διὰ πάντων, *above all*: διὰ has occasionally (in Herodotus as in the poets, not in Attic writers) a meaning of *pre-eminence, of going through or beyond*.

25. θέσιοι κορυφαῖ (G. 138, n. 6), great masses of rock detached from the mountain and thrown down, probably, by the defenders: many such fragments are now to be seen in the pass. — ιδὲ Βοιωτῶν (G. 182, 2). — μέγε-
νας ἡ κατὰ ἀνθράπτων φύσιν, *of more than human stature*: ξέχοντας cannot be correct here unless there is some error in the preceding words.

26. τούς and δύο belong to ήρωας. — τῆς Κασταλίης, the famous fountain of Castalia, which flows from the cleft between the two lofty peaks, the Φαιδριάδες, which overhang Delphi. One of these peaks was called Hyampeia. These two peaks above Delphi have caused the idea that the chief peak of Parnassus, Lycoreia, has a double crest.

Page 200. — 27. τὸ ποιητέον = διὰ ποιητέον, as indirect question. — ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκοντι *καθ-ήκω* πρήγμασι, *on the circumstances that had arisen* (or come in), like the Attic τὸ καθεστώτα. — τῶν . . οὐδέν, *nothing of the kind*. — οἱ δὲ, the Athenians: see note on III. § 38, above. — ἀπέναι (v. ἀφῆμι) depends irregularly on ἐπινθάνοντο, which takes the participle τεχέοντας regularly (G. 280).

28. Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ τις δύναται σάξειν, for Ἀθηναῖον τινὰ τῇ (= ὅ) δύ-
ναται σάξειν. — ἐς Τροιζῆνα: Trozen, on the Argolic coast, was a sea-faring place, sacred to Poseidon, and inhabited by an Ionic people kindred to the Athenians. It deserves to be remembered to the honor of the Trozenians, that they received the Athenian exiles “with eager good-will,” and “passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them.” (Plutarch, Them. 10.) — τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, that with reference to the “wooden walls.” — ἐν τῷ ιρῷ, *in the temple* of Athena Polias, which formed part of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. Here was preserved the olive-wood statue of the Goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and which was decorated with the costly *peplus* at the great Panathenaic festival. — ὡς ἔσντι, i. e. to the serpent *as actually existing*, implying some doubt of his reality on the historian’s part. — ἐπιμήνια, *monthly food-offerings*. — ὡς . . . ἀπολελοιπούσῃς: it was a common ancient belief, that a city could not be taken or destroyed unless first forsaken by its divinity. Thus the Romans had a formula for summoning forth the Gods of the cities they were about to attack; while the true name of Rome and that of its tutelar divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy who might thus disarm the city of its protector. (See Macrobius, Sat. III. 9.)

Page 201. — 30. προθέντος (for the more common λόγον προθέντος), *having given notice*, the usual formula for opening a debate. — τῶν (= ὧν) χωρέων, by attraction for δουκ χωρέων τῶν τυκρατές εἰσι, *in which of the places they were themselves masters of*. — ἐπιλέγοντες, as if εἰλεγον or ἔγινοσσαν

had preceded. — ίτια, where. — πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, supply δέοντες from the clause with μέν.

31. ἤκαν, had (already) come (G. 200, n. 3); but πυρπολέσθαι (regular present), was burning: so with ἤκε and ἔδητον below.

Page 202. — 32. τριτὶ μηνὶ: it was now September, B. C. 480, on the 20th of which the battle of Salamis was fought. — ἄρχοντος, being Archon, i. e. Eponymus for the year: see note on Xen. Hell. 2, III. 1. — τὸ δότυ, the city proper, all within the circuit of the walls. — ταῦτα, stewards, having charge of the temple-treasures.

33. Ἀρτίου πάγον, the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill. — δύκος . . . δῆμεαν (G. 233). — ἐνεδέκοντο, did they entertain them, i. e. the proposals of the exiled family of Pisistratus.

34. ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων: ἀπόρω is used like ἀπόρων. — ἐμπροσθε: the north side of the Aeropolis is still sometimes called the front; the gateway and the only entrance are on the west side. — ἀλπιτος has here so much force of apprehension that it takes μή and the optative like ἀφοβήθη (G. 218): for ἀλπιτος δή, see G. 226, 2. — ἴρδον . . . Ἀγλαύρου: the Aglaurium, a sanctuary which commemorated the place where Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself from the Acropolis.

Page 203. — πρὸς τὰς πύλας, the gates of the temple, in the precincts of which they had ascended.

35. Ἀραβάνῳ: an uncle of Xerxes, who had been left in chief authority at the Persian capital, although he had attempted to dissuade Xerxes from his expedition against Greece.

36. γηγενέος, born of the Earth: see II. II. 548, τέκε δὲ γενέος δρώντα. The temple of Erechtheus was one of the three temples united in the building commonly called the Erechtheum; a second was the temple of Athena Polias (see note on § 28, above); the third was the Pandroseum, which contained the sacred olive-tree planted by Athena, and the salt spring (θάλασσα) made by the stroke of Poseidon's trident. These were *prizes* (μαρτύρια) offered by the rival deities in their famous contest for the possession of Athens, which was represented by Phidias in the group of statues on the western pediment of the Parthenon. — δοτὸν τε, about, like ὡς with words denoting number or size: the τε is a poetic addition (not Attic) allowed by Herodotus (G. 151, n. 4).

37. κυριεῖναι depends on ξενον, which sometimes takes the infinitive in the sense of *waiting for* something to be done. — πρῆγμα, subject of discussion (see § 30, above).

Page 204. — καὶ οὐ (G. 151, n. 3).

38. περι οὐδεμῆς . . . ναυμαχήσεις, i. e. you will no longer have any country to fight for (for οὐ . . . οὐδεμῆς, see G. 283, 9). — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7). — ἀναγνέσσεις, to prevail upon: this meaning of ἀναγνέσσεις is not found in Attic.

39. συμμίχαι, communicate. — ἐαντοῦ ποιεύμενος, making (or representing) them as his own.

40. τῶν ἐνεκεν (relative), = τούτων ὁν, &c.: τούτων depending on λόγον. — πολλός, frequent or urgent; i. e. he had much to say. — ἀπολύμενος, in his defence, sese purgans. — οἱ ἔγκαταλεπόμενοι, they who do not enter the lists.

Page 205. — 41. ἀναζεύξῃς, break up, move off; lit. yoke up, used properly of moving by land. — ἀνατεπταμένη, open (as a bird with its wings spread), in contrast with the narrow waters at Salamis. — ἐς τό (relative), supply ἀνάγαν or some similar verb. — βαρυτέρας (if correct) must mean heavier in movement, not larger. — σφέας, the Persians. — κινδυνεύστεις . . . Ἑλλάδι: compare κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ in III. 27.

42. τοσάδε, the following (G. 148, N. 1). — πρὸς ἡμέων, for our advantage. — ἐς τὴν (G. 191, N. 6). — ἐν αὐτοῖς (as above), i. e. in what I propose. — μένων = ἦν μέντος (G. 226, 1).

43. περιεόντι: cf. περιγίνεται in § 42. — λόγιον refers to the oracle, II. § 35. — οἰκότα is object of βουλευομένοις, and is also understood as subject of θεῖλα, which here is used like φιλεῖ = solet. — βουλευομένοις before οὐκ θεῖλει is dat. commodi, i. e. for their sake.

Page 206. — προσχωρέαν . . . γνώμας, conform (go over) to human ideas.

44. τῷ μή ἐστι (G. 238): μή shows that there is a conditional as well as a causal force in the relative clause. — ἐπιψήφίζεν διότι ἀνδρί, to put a question to vote for (i. e. on the motion of) a man without a country. — οὕτω συμβάλλεσθαι, then (i. e. after declaring his country) to join in proposing opinions. — ἐαντοῖς, to himself and his fellow-citizens. — ἐστ' ἀν, so long as: the subjunctive in the direct discourse depends on ἐστι (here changed to εἴη), which has a future (as well as present) sense; the idea being, we can certainly be said to have a country, so long as we have 200 ships to show.

45. ἐπεστραμμένα (v. ἐπιστρέψω), pressing, emphatic. — εἰ μετας καὶ ξενα: the apodosis is suppressed, it will be well. — τὸ πᾶν . . . φέρουσι, i. e. with them rests the whole fortune of war. — οἰκέτας, (here) our households. — Σύριν, a town near Sybaris in Southern Italy. — καὶ . . . αὐτήν, and which (G. 156): a relative is seldom repeated in a new case, but a personal or demonstrative takes its place.

46. θοκέαν, used absolutely (G. 268). — μὴ . . . ἀπολίπωσι (G. 218; 216, 2). — οἰκέτη belongs to ἀξιόμαχοι. — οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα (G. 141, N. 3): ἀκροβολισάμενοι, after skirmishing.

Page 207. — Αἰακίδας: among the descendants of Aeacus were Peleus and his son Achilles. It is not to be supposed that the ship was sent for images of these heroes; but it was believed that they would come in person, though unseen, to help the Greeks.

47. Δημαρήτῳ: see note on III. § 57. — Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, between Parnes and Eleusis. — θεάν κοτε εἴη, indirect question, like δ τι εἴη (below). — πρόκατε (= πρόκα τε), suddenly, all at once. — Ἱακχον, the song sung by

the procession of the initiated (*μένται* or *μεμημένοι*) as they marched along the Sacred Way from Athens to the temple at Eleusis at the annual festival of Deméter: the name comes from the frequent recurrence of the verse 'Ιακχ', & 'Ιακχε, in which Dionysus (or Bacchus) was invoked under the name of Iacchus.

48. *ἀπός* belongs to the omitted subject of *εἶναι* (see G. 138, N. 8): *ἔφη* is still understood. — *ἐρήμου ἔσσοντος*, causal. — *Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ*, to Demeter (the Earth-mother or Ceres) and Core (the Daughter, Proserpine or Persephone; *Κόρη*, Ionic *Κούρη*). — *μενται*, is initiated: the term probably refers to the candidates for initiation having their eyes closed or covered. — *τὴν φωνὴν* (G. 159).

Page 208. — 49. *οὐδὲ εἰς, ne unus quidem*, more emphatic than the simple *οὐδέτες*. — *ἐκ τοῦ κοινοροῦ*, after the dust. — *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος, towards Salamis*; but *ἐπὶ τῷ στρατόπεδον, into the camp*. — *καταπέμψας, calling to witness*; properly used of clinging to the image of a God who is invoked.

50. *Θηρσάμενοι*: see note after § 18, above. — *Φαλήρε*, the old port of Athens; see map, and note on Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 11.

Herodotus now describes a discussion (here omitted), in which an immediate attack on the Greek fleet at Salamis was urged by all the Persian commanders except Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus. She advised distracting the Greeks by threatening various parts of their coast with attack. But her counsel seemed timid and slow, and was overruled by the majority, whom Xerxes followed. Herodotus also remarks, that the army and navy of Xerxes, when they reached Attica, were as numerous as they had been before the storm at Sepias and the battles at Artemisium and Thermopylae, the losses being made up by accessions from the Greeks. This, however, may well be questioned.

The movement mentioned in the words *ἀνθηγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα*, seems to have consisted in sailing across to some position southeast of Salamis, from which an attack could be made the next day on the Athenian fleet, which was lying in the Bay of Salamis (on the east side of the island). — *ὅτι . . . μέλλουσεν* (G. 250, N.).

51. *ἐπορεύετο, began its march*. — *συγχέσαντες, having destroyed (dug away)*: the road along the shore from Megara to Corinth is here artificially made on the steep side of the Scironian cliff (*Σκιρωνίδες*), and it is still rendered impassable by an ordinary rain-storm. This is the place at which the robber Sciron kicked travellers into the sea, until he was himself served in the same way by Theseus. (He has resumed his old business in later years, and a new Theseus is sadly needed there.)

Page 209. — *φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρες, gabions*.

52. *περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θέουστες, running a race for the whole, i. e. having everything at stake*. — *ἄντροι ἀνδρὶ παραστάς, each man with his neighbour*. — *τέλος* (G. 160, 2). — *ἔξερράγη, the excitement broke out (like a storm)*. — *οἱ μέν, as if πολλοὶ θέγον preceded*; to this corresponds *Ἀθη-*

ναοι δέ, &c. — ἀμίνεσθαι depends on some word like κελεύοντες understood with Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.

53. λαθάν, *secretly*. — ἐπεδέκοντο πολιῆτας: after the great losses sustained at Thermopylae and later at Plataea, Thespiae was obliged to admit new citizens. This Sicinnus was an Asiatic by birth, and probably spoke Persian. — λάθρη = λάθρᾳ (G. 182, 2). — φρονέων τὰ βασιλίου, *favoring the King's cause*. — παρέχει, *affords you an opportunity*.

Page 210. — περιέδητε διαδράντας, *allow to escape*: notice the tense of the participle (G. 279, 3). — πρὸς ἑαυτούς, *against each other* (G. 146, N. 3).

The first object of Themistocles was certainly to make a retreat of the Greek fleet impossible, as he believed that thus only could the progress of Xerxes be checked. He also wished to divert the attention of the Persian commanders from their original plan of attack to an entirely new one of cutting off a retreat, thus making them careless at the critical moment, and perhaps inducing them to divide their fleet. It can hardly be doubted, however, that here — as in his later stratagem (§ 85) — he had a crafty scheme for “laying up treasure” (*ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι*, § 84) with the King, in case the Greek cause should fail or he himself (as actually happened) should be driven to seek the protection of Persia.

54. τοῦτο δέ, *secondly*. — ἀνήγον . . . Σαλαμῖνα, *they brought their west wing up to Salamis, sailing round the island (or surrounding the island, i. e. with ships stationed at important points)*. This refers to the ships which formed the west wing as they were stationed the evening before the battle (see note on § 50). — οἱ ἀμφὶ . . . Κυνόσουραν τεραγμένοι, *those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura*: it is now generally agreed that this Cynosura must be some point of Salamis, and not the Cynosura of the bay of Marathon. The word (lit. *dog's tail*) means simply a *long point of land*, and the eastern point of Salamis suits the description better than any other. Ceos must be some place or point in the immediate neighborhood. — κατεῖχον . . . πορθμόν: the ships just mentioned, which were lying off Cynosura at nightfall, now advanced and blockaded the channel between Salamis and the peninsula of Piraeus (in which is Munychia). — ἀπεβαῖσαν τῶν Περσέων (cf. πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων, above), sc. τινάς (G. 170, 1). — ὡς . . . ξεισομένων, *because (they thought) both the men and the wrecks would be especially likely to be brought ashore here*. — ἐν πόρῳ, &c., i. e. *in the passage where the battle was to be fought*.

The description of Herodotus, thus interpreted, agrees in all essential points with that of Aeschylus. The great tragedian, who had fought in the Athenian ranks of Marathon, was also in the battle of Salamis. It is to be assumed that no account of the position of the Persian fleet on that eventful morning can be correct, which does not agree with his description in the “Persians.” This tragedy, exhibited in Athens in 472 B. C., contains a graphic account of the battle, which a messenger, just arrived at the Persian court from Salamis, narrates to Queen Atossa, the mother of

Xerxes. The three principal points mentioned by Herodotus in § 54 are prominent in Aeschylus. The landing of Persian troops on Psyttaleia, and their slaughter, are made a most important part of the story (see note on § 75). The stratagem of Themistocles is mentioned as the chief cause of the Persian defeat. In consequence of this, Xerxes first orders a triple line of ships "to guard the passage out and the roaring straits" (i. e. the southern entrance of the straits of Salamis); then "others ("to guard," or "to sail") in a circle round the isle of Ajax" (i. e. Salamis). The former are the ships described by Herodotus as holding "all the channel as far as Munychia"; the latter must be "the west wing," which the Persians bring round to Salamis (*κυκλούμενοι*). This last is made clearer by the statement of Diodorus, that Xerxes sent round the Egyptian ships to blockade the passage between the northwest point of Salamis and the mainland of Megara. This is the movement to which Aristides refers in § 58. We may suppose that other ships were placed at other points around Salamis, where they would be of service if the Greeks made their expected attempt to escape by night. Aeschylus then describes the disappointment of the Persians when no signs of flight appeared; and their consternation, at break of day, when, as the sun rose, they heard the solemn paean — the war-cry of the Greeks — and the blast of the trumpet echo from the hills of Salamis. He represents the attack as begun by a Greek ship. The battle seems to have been fought chiefly within the straits, so that the Persian right extended towards Eleusis, and their left towards Piraeus (§ 62). The Persians probably advanced in line from the open sea into the narrows, where they were soon thrown into confusion from want of room. Aeschylus speaks of the *stream* (*ρέῦμα*) of the Persian fleet, which probably refers to their mode of entering the straits. The Persians were so soon thrown into confusion, that the fight must have rapidly lost its regularity, and probably no systematic plan of the Greek commander was carried out. This explains the confused accounts which we have of the progress of the battle, as to which Herodotus (§ 64) confesses himself unable to give details.

about

The battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of September, 480 B. C.

55. συνεστηκότων, *in conflict* (see note on II. § 36, above). — Αριστέδης: Aristides, who had been one of the generals at Marathon, was banished from Athens by *ostracism* (see Dict. of Antiquities) in 482 B. C.; but his sentence had been revoked since the invasion of Xerxes had begun, on the motion of Themistocles, his bitter enemy and rival. Recalled too late to return to Athens, he thus joined the Athenians in their camp at Salamis the night before the eventful battle, bringing news of the movement of the Persians which was most welcome to Themistocles.

Page 211. — 56. περὶ τοῦ, &c., *on the question, &c.* — οὗτος ἐστι, *it is all one.* — Πελοποννησίου is to be joined with αἰτοπλόου.

57. ἐξ ἐμέο, *at my instigation.* — παραστήσασθαι, *to bring them over*, i. e. to my opinion. — ὡς οὐ ποιέντων . . . ταῦτα, *because (as they will say) the barbarians are not really doing this* (G. 277, n. 2).

58. ήκαν καὶ ἐκπλώσαι, indirect discourse for ήκω καὶ ἐξεπλώσα. — τοὺς ἐπορρέουσας shows that the sea between Salamis and Aegina was occupied during the night by part of the Persian fleet (see note on § 54).

Page 212. — ἵπειόντο here takes the accusative, as in II. § 34.

59. ἐς τὸν τρίποδα: this tripod was erected after the battle of Plataea. A portion of the pedestal, 16 feet high, is now in Constantinople; and the of the states which "overthrew the Barbarian" (including the Teni-
Hand.

62. κατά, opposed to. — πρὸς ἑσπέρης and πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ here are west and southeast; Eleusis and the Piraeus giving the general dir. of the Persian line. — Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολάς; see § 18, above. — Χρυσαῦται . . . οὐδέν (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εὑρεγέτης ἀνεγράψῃ: “Recording name is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylon as the highest object of man's ambition. See Esther vi. 1.” (Rawlinson.)

63. τῶν νεῶν, i. e. Persian, as τούτους refers to certain Persians. — ἔμελλε . . . συνοιστεῖσθαι, the result was bound to be such, &c. — ήσαν καὶ ἐγένοντο, were and proved themselves. — αὐτὸν ἁυτῶν, compared with themselves (i. e. at other times): the comparative here takes two constructions, a genitive and a clause with η, the former being inserted merely for emphasis.

64. μερεγέρεους, individuals. — Ἀρτεμισίην: as Artemisia was queen

of Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, he makes more special mention of her. (See also note on § 50, above.) — καὶ ή : see below.

Page 214. — Εμπροσθε γάρ : the clause introduced by γάρ ends with θέση, after which θέσι οἱ, *it pleased her*, irregularly takes the place of a personal verb belonging to καὶ ή. — πρὸς . . . μάλιστα, close upon. — τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε, which succeeded too : see § 66, below. — φέρουσα, bearing down. — ἀνθρώποι τε . . . καὶ : this implies that the ship was *not only* (ré) manned by Galyndians, *but also* (καὶ) bore the king (?) of Calynda (a Carian town): ἐπιπλέοντος is genitive absolute.

65. εἰ μὴ καὶ τί . . . ἐγεγόνει, even if we admit that she had had some quarrel with him, still, &c. — μέντοι is used like δέ in apodosis (G. 227, 2). — παραπομένου : Herodotus used συγκυρέω (as well as συμπίπτειν) with the participle, like τυγχάνω in Attic (G. 279, 4).

66. ἀπὸ τούτων, by what she had done (not especially κακόν). — καὶ τὸν (G. 143, 2) : so καὶ τούς. — φάναι, assented (imperfect). — ἐπισταμένους, recognizing; but θυσιάσθατο, believed (wrongly). — αὐτῇ συνήνεκε, proved fortunate for her (Krieger), as in § 64, above; γενόμενα being causal: but συνήνεκε may perhaps be taken with γενόμενα, happened to result fortunately, like συνεκόρησε in § 65 (we have, however, συνήνεκε γενέσθαι in § 66). — καὶ τὸ . . . γενέσθαι, and especially the circumstance, that, &c., referring to τὸ τε ἄλλα. — γεγόνασι μοι (G. 184, 3, N. 6).

67. ἀπὸ δέ (sc. θανον) = ἀπέθανον.

Page 215. — ἐν χαρέν νόμῳ, in the hand-to-hand conflict — ἀποδεξόμενοι here belongs to ἀποδεικνύμενοι, as ἀποδεξάμενοι in II. § 17: see note on I. § 6.

68. ὡς . . . ἀπολολάτο (G. 122, 2), i. e. that the collision was not accidental. — ὡς προδόντων, sc. τῶν Λέωνων, because (as the Phoenicians charged, ὡς) they had been traitors: the genitive absolute is more emphatic than the simpler ὡς προδόντων would have been. — τοιόνδε, as follows. — κατεῖχε . . . κατέβαστος νεός, the ship which had sunk them. — ξυχον, took possession (not had or held).

69. ἐκέλευσε, sc. τινάς as subject of ἀποταμεῖν. — αὐτοί refers to the Phoenicians generally, who were to be taught a lesson. — ὅκας . . . θοι, whenever he saw (G. 233). — ὑπό, at the foot of: the eminence on which Xerxes sat during the battle is *low* compared with the higher mountain of which it is a projection. — πατρόθεν, i. e. adding his father's name to his own, in the Athenian style. — προσεβάλερο . . . πάθεος, i. e. he contributed somewhat (τι) to this disaster of the Phoenicians (G. 170). — φίλος ἔστι, sc. τοῖς Ταῦταις.

Page 216. — 70. ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ, between Psyttaleia and the Piraeus. The battle was fought between Salamis and the mainland, so that this remote position of the Aeginetans could still be called in the channel: hence ἐκπλωώντων and ἐκπλωόντας.

71. θάκοντα νία, (sc. πολεμήν). — τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν επὶ Σακίδῃ: see note on III. § 5. — κατακόπιντα, badly mangled, cut up. — τῆς στρατηγίδος, the flag-ship (of Themistocles). — ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν refers to the charges made against the Aeginetans before the battle of Marathon: see I. § 3. — ἵπτο, to the protection of.

72. ἡκουσαν δριώτα, gained the greatest glory: εὖ (or κακῶς) δικόντα = bene (or male) audire. — Ἀρτεμισίην: see § 65, and note on § 64. — πρότερον ἡ εἷλε = πρὶν εἷλε, before he had captured, priusquam cepisset (G. 240, 1; 232, 2). — η̄ after μν = or. — οἱς ἀν θηγ, [to anybody] who should take her alive (G. 248). — γυναικί: so Demosthenes afterwards resented the Athenians' fear of the later queen Artemisia of Caria (the builder of the Mausoleum), calling her βάρβαρον διθρωπὸν, καὶ ταῦτα γυναικί, a barbarian, and a woman at that.

Page 217. — ήσαν δὲ . . . Φαλήρῳ repeats the statement of the last sentence in § 71, after the digression.

73. ὡς δὲ . . . γινεσθαι, and when they came, &c. (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — ἵριν Ἀθηναῖς Σκιράδος: this was probably on the southern point of Salamis. — οὗτε τι . . . εἰδόται for οὐδέν τε . . . εἰδόται. — ἤρωντο (v. ἤρδομαι), prayed.

74. οὐλ τε, ready. — ἐπ' ἔξεργασμένοισι, after all was over. — οὐδέντιον, &c.: Herodotus, who evidently disbelieved this story, (as Rawlinson remarks) "recorded it more on account of its poetic character than from ill-will towards Corinth."

75. κατεφόνευσαν: this is represented by the messenger in the *Persians* of Aeschylus as taking place after the battle, and as the worst disaster of the day. The Persian here slain are called "the finest, the bravest, the noblest, and the first in the King's confidence." (See § 54, above.)

Page 218. — 76. Κωλιάδα: this was on the Attic coast, a little more than two miles southeast of Phalerum. — δηποτλήσαι, to fulfil, governs τὸν χρησμόν, which is explained by τὸν τι ἄλλον . . . Μουσαῖς, and irregularly by τὸν εἰρημένον, &c.: for the latter we should expect τὸν κατὰ τὰ ναυῆς . . . εἰρημένον. — ἐλελήθε, had escaped the notice of. — φρίξοντι in the oracle must mean shall roast (i. e. cook) with the wood of the oars which shall drift ashore. The MSS. have φρίξουσι, which might mean shall shudder at the sight of oars (?). The following words, δηπλάσαντος βασιλέος, favor the common emendation φρίξουσι.

77. χῶμα διαχόν, to build a mole or dam from the Attic shore to Salamis. He also (τί) began a bridge of boats, and pretended to be preparing for another sea-fight, while he was really planning a retreat (δρησμόν). — ἐκ παντὸς νόου, in real earnest. — πολεμήσαν is irregular after παρεσκενεστασία (G. 202, 3).

78. παραγίγνεται, travels (lit. comes in, arrives). — οὕτω, with such skill.

Page 219. — δωρεὰν ἀν (G. 225). — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7; 263, 1, N.). —

κατ' ἄλλον, by one after another, a strange expression (perhaps a mistake) for *κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον*. — λαμπαδηφορίῃ, torch-race, like λαμπάς (I. § 7).

80. Μαρδόνιον: see below, § 86. — περέμενον, *in attempt*, i. e. *so far as he could*, belongs to the subject of τούτου. — ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, *thus far did matters advance*. — ὡς τάχεος εἶχε (G. 168, n. 3). — διαφυλαξόντας . . . βασιλέϊ, *to guard the bridges for the King's passage* (G. 265). — Ζωστήρος: Zōster is a promontory of Attica about half-way between the Piraeus and Sunium. — ἐτι πολλόν, *to a great distance*.

Page 220. — 81. ήλπιζον, *they supposed*, followed by εἰναι in indirect discourse (G. 203).

82. εἰ λύσονται . . . τοῦτ' ἀν . . . ἐργάσαιντο: the direct form would have the same tenses and moods (G. 227, 1). — ἡσυχήν μὴ ἔχειν, *to avoid keeping quiet*. — ἅγουται μέν = ἀντὶ μὲν ἄγη (G. 226, 1). — οὐτε . . . οὐται, *neither can anything succeed*. — κομιδή, *return*. — τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ καρπόν, *the harvest of each successive year*. — ἀλλά belongs to ἀετέον εἰναι (sc. ἔφη). — ἐς 8 ΙΔΟΥ, *until he comes*, without ἀν (G. 232, 3; 234).

83. μεταβαλλόν, *turning*, i. e. from the others to the Athenians. — ἀρμάτο, *were eager (set out)*. — καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, *even taking it upon themselves*, i. e. *on their own responsibility*. — ἀλλοι = οἱ ἄλλοι.

Page 221. — πολλοῖσι, *many occasions*. — ἀναλαμβάνειν, *retrieve*. — εὐημα, *good luck or godsend*: the idea is, that the rescue of ourselves and of Greece is a piece of special good fortune.

84. καταβαλλων τὰ δυάλματα: the Persian religion, like the Jewish, was uncompromisingly hostile to idols (iconoclastic). A Persian therefore might commit acts with no sacrilegious intent which would be gross impiety in the eyes of a Greek. — δημιαστήγωτε: see II. § 9, above. — δλλ . . . γάρ, *but, since*. — ἐπιμεληθήναι (G. 270), *let us care for*: we should expect δεῖ here. — καὶ τις (G. 150, n.). — διεθήκην: see note on § 53. — τὰ περ ἐγένετο: Themistocles took refuge in Persia after the death of Xerxes, when he claimed the favor of the King on the ground of the services rendered to the Persian cause at this time, confessing and boasting that his action had been treacherous to the Greeks. It may be doubted whether he deceived the Greeks, or the Persians, or both. Grote remarks: “There existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. . . . Moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful.”

85. διέβαλλε, *deceived them*. — Connect σιγᾶν τὰ (= δ) ἐνεργείατο.

Page 222. — διέπλων δπίσω: after this, Themistocles sent threatening messages to many of the Greek islanders, by which he extorted large sums of money, which laid the foundation of his great wealth of 80 or 100 talents. At Andros he demanded payment in the name of “those mighty Gods of Athens, Persuasion and Necessity”; but the Andrians refused in

the name of their “two unprofitable Gods, who never desert their island, Poverty and Helplessness,” and submitted to a siege, in which they baffled all the efforts of the Athenians.

86. οὐδὲ with προέμψα (G. 202) means *it seemed good*; but with εἶναι (G. 203) it means *it seemed*, and so with the following infinitive. — οὐκ ἔφη, i. e. *said that he would not*. — τριήκοντα μυρίδας: this is the army which remained in Greece during the winter, and was defeated at Plataea in the following year (479 B. C.).

87. οὐδὲν μέρος, i. e. no important part, compared with the host with which he entered. — *οἱ* §4 (G. 227, 2).

Page 223. — Ινα . . . γίνοιτο ἀλινῶν, wherever he *happened to come in his march*, depends on the frequentative force of ἐπιτάσσων (G. 233). — ἄρμα τοῦ Διός: see note on II. § 13, above. — διελαφε, receive back: so διεδίδομεν means *give back or repay*. — νεμόμενας, as they were in pasture, refers to the eight white mares (called simply ίπποι λευκοί in II. 13) which drew the sacred chariot: compare the poetic use of δέφ' ίππων, &c., referring to the chariot.

88. τῆστιν νηυσί: see §§ 80 and 96. — ἐμπιπλάμενοι, *gorging themselves*.

89. οἵδε, as follows, after λεγόμενος; not οἵδε λόγος (without δ): this is probably a specimen of the tales current in Greece which were invented to malign the servile temper of the Asiatics. — χαμαίνεσθαι (sc. τὸν βασιλέα), *was suffering from the storm*. — ἀστε = ἄστε (G. 277, N. 2). — ἐπιβάτες, here probably simply *passengers*: see note on § 60.

90. κηδόμενος (G. 280). — οἰκε = ιούκε.

Page 224. — ἀποσωθῆναι, *was brought safe*. — ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

91. οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ . . . πάθος, *neither in other points, nor as to this which [is said to have] happened to the Persians*. — δυτίζον μὴ οὐκ ἀν ποιήσαι τούτονδε, opposed to the idea that he would have done something like this: μὴ is used because of the negative idea of δυτίζοος (G. 283, 6), while οὐ is added because of οὐκ ἔχω (G. 283, 7). — τὸν μὲν καταβιβάσαι (sc. ἄν) is added (by apposition) to explain ποιήσαι ἀν; but δκος οὐκ ἀν . . . ἐξέβαλε reverts to the construction which ποιήσαι ἀν represents (*ἴστοισε ἀν*).

92. τραπέμενοι, after the fruitless siege of Andros: see note on § 85. — ἀγένετο ἀνδρίδις, *a statue was made*.

93. τῷ γενομένῳ, *to him who had shown himself*. — διενέμοντο, *gave their votes*; lit. *distributed among themselves*, because all voted for some of those present.

Page 225. — δεύτερα (adverb), *in the second place*. — συνεῖπυπτον, *happened (fell out) to agree*: see § 30. — ἔμουνοντο, *had but one vote apiece*.

94. ἀκρίτων, in active sense: Krüger, however, interprets it *unjudged, with their merits undecided*. — δριστήια μὲν: we must understand ἀνδραγαθίης or some such word; Plutarch says (Them. XVII.), Εἴστριβιδη μὲν

Διδρείας, ἐκέντη (i. e. Themistocles) δὲ σοφίας δρυστεῖον θύσαν. (Stein will even insert the word in the text.) — **ἱππεῖς**: the 300 knights were the regular body-guard of a Spartan king when he went into battle; Leonidas, however, chose a special band of 300 to accompany him to Thermopylae (see note on III. § 21).

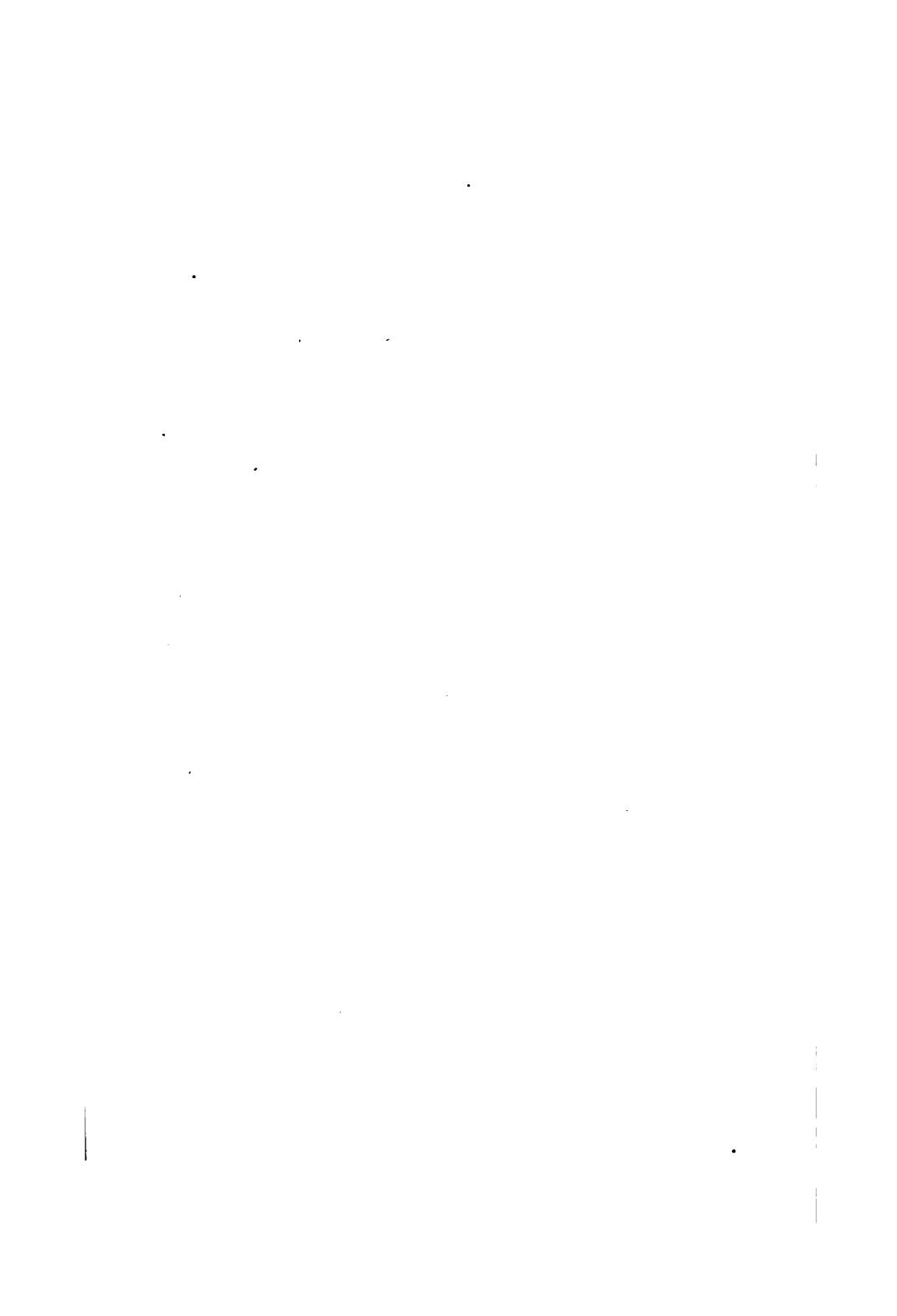
95. ὡς . . . ἔχοι depends on the idea of *saying* in ἐνέκκει. — **Τυμόδημος**: we must suppose this man to have been a native of Belbina, a little island near Sunium, and to have been made an Attic citizen and enrolled in the deme of Aphidnae. Plato and many other writers tell the same story of a Seriphian, without making him a citizen of Athens. — **ἴσαν, if I were**, = εἰ ήν (G. 222; 226, 1), and *if thou wert*. — **Αθηναῖος** must here mean *born in Athens*.

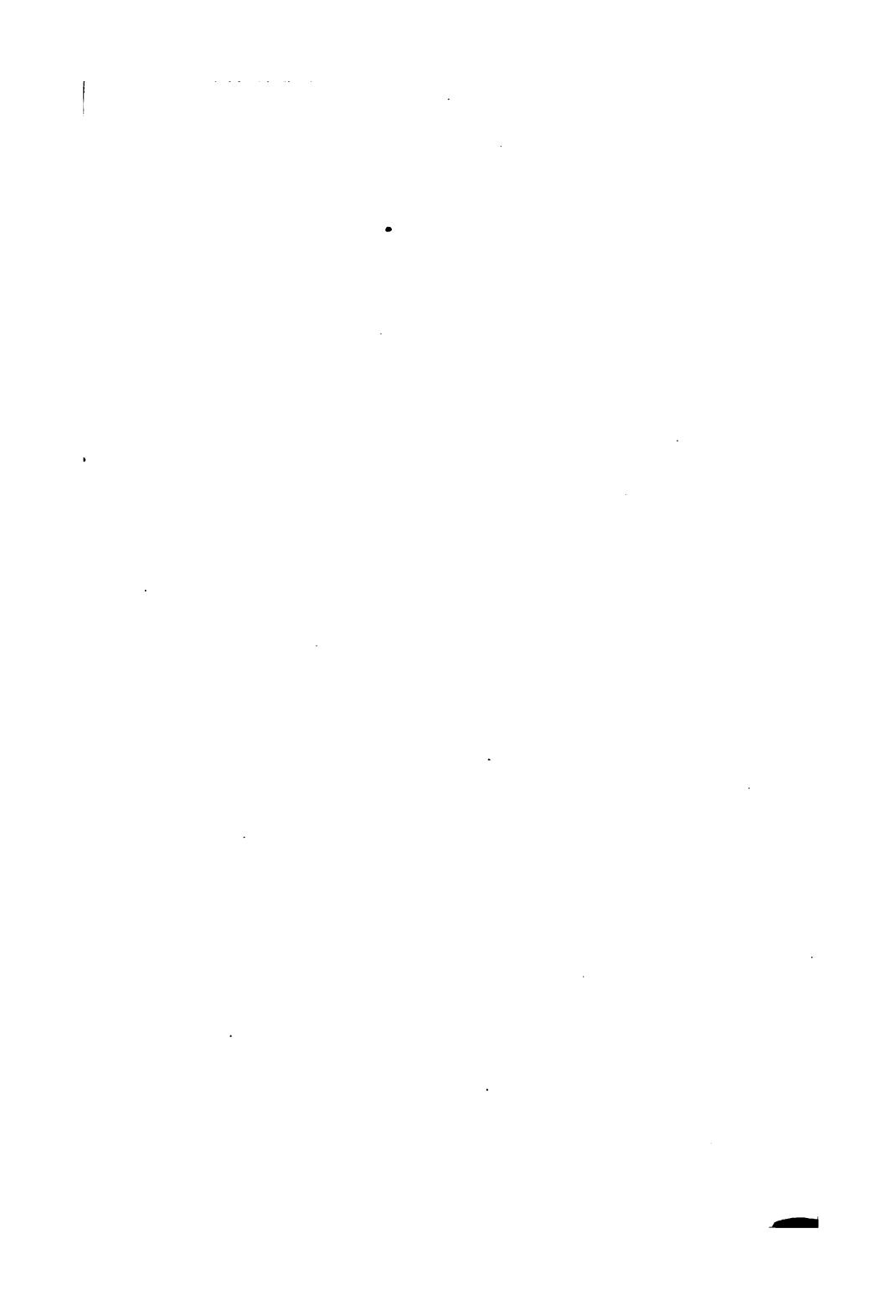
96. **ναυτικός, sc. στρατός.** — ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος, unless ὁ is inserted before the participle, will mean *which remained to* (belonging to) *Xerxes*. — **προσέμε**, *arrived at*. — **Κέρμη**, in Aeolis, on the coast of Asia Minor.

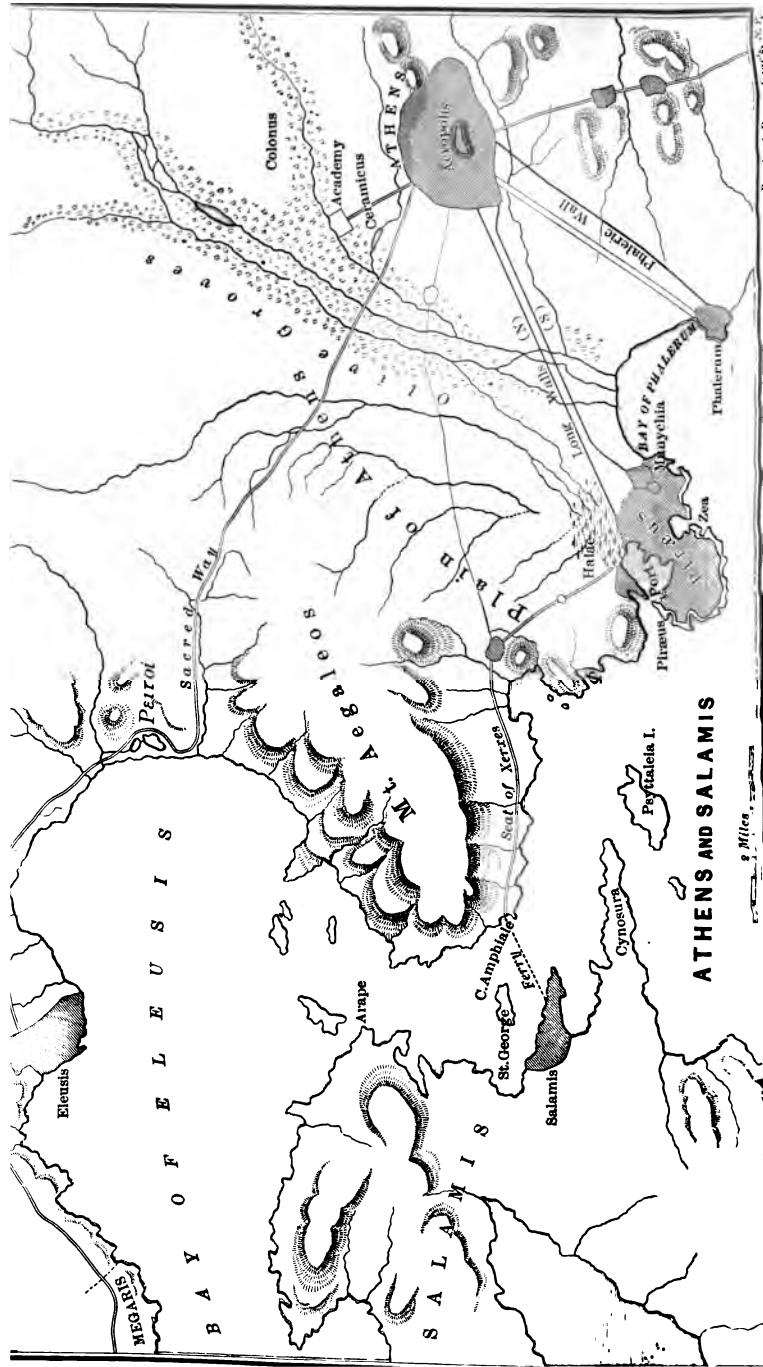
In the following spring, the army of Mardonius re-entered Central Greece, and again occupied Athens; the Athenians, as before, retreated to Salamis. At the great battle of Platea, in which the Greeks were commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, Mardonius was defeated and slain, and his army nearly annihilated. This disaster, with the defeat in the sea-fight at Mycale, on the same day, was the final act of the Persian wars in Greece.

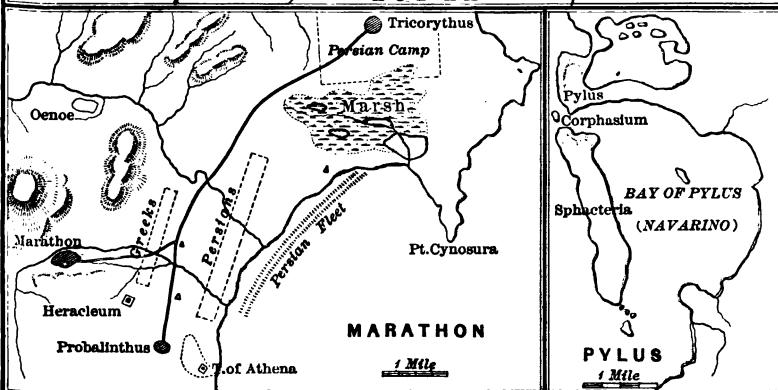
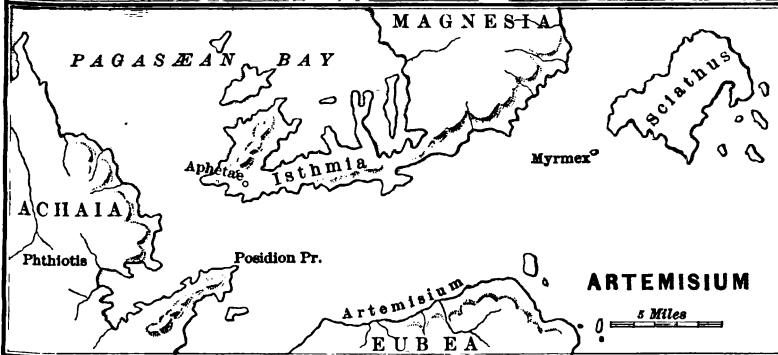
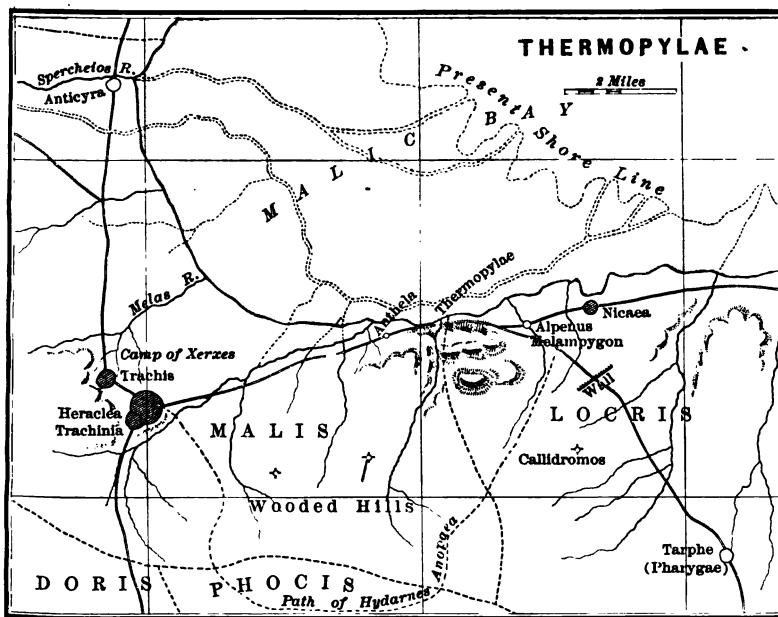
SOME OF THE IMPORTANT DATES OF GREEK HISTORY.

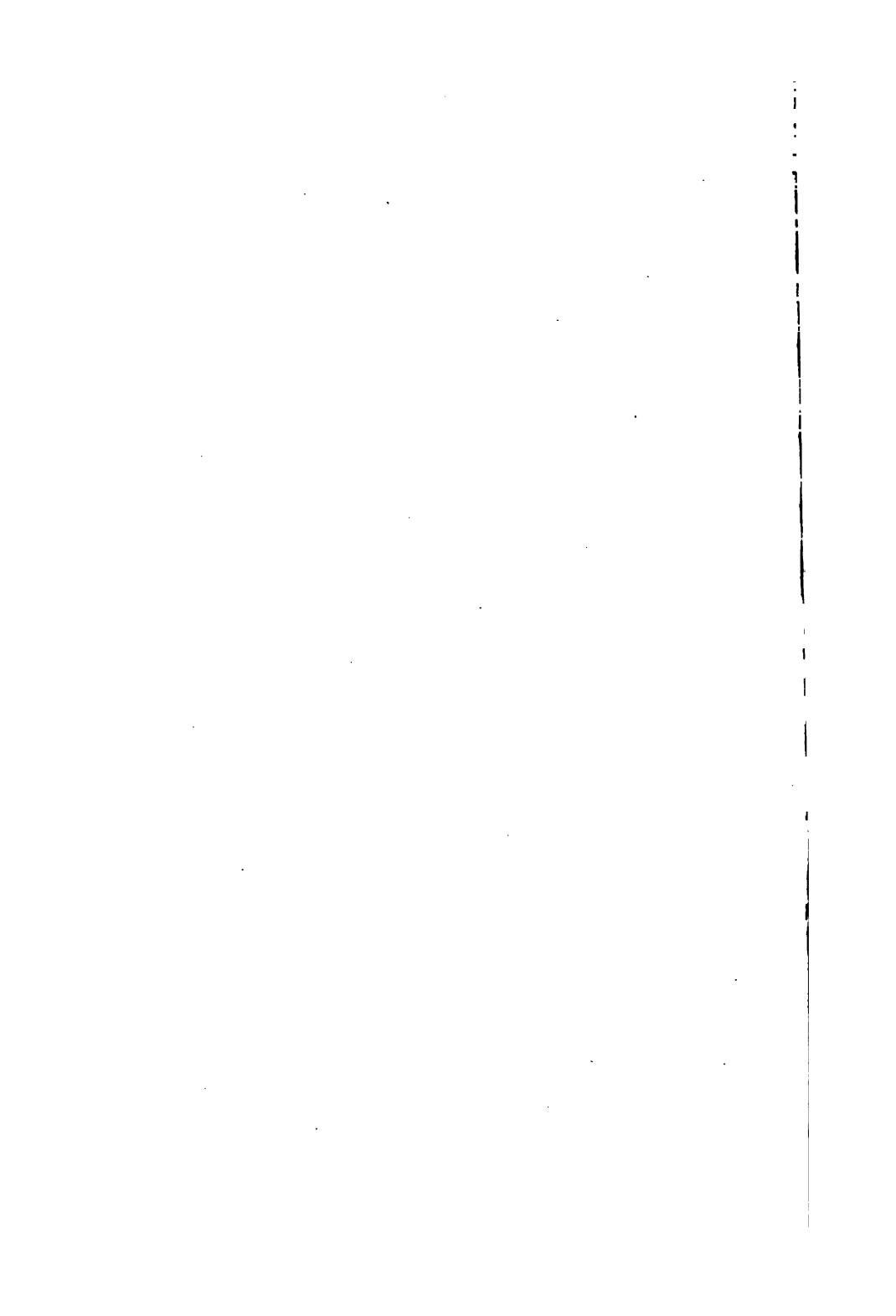
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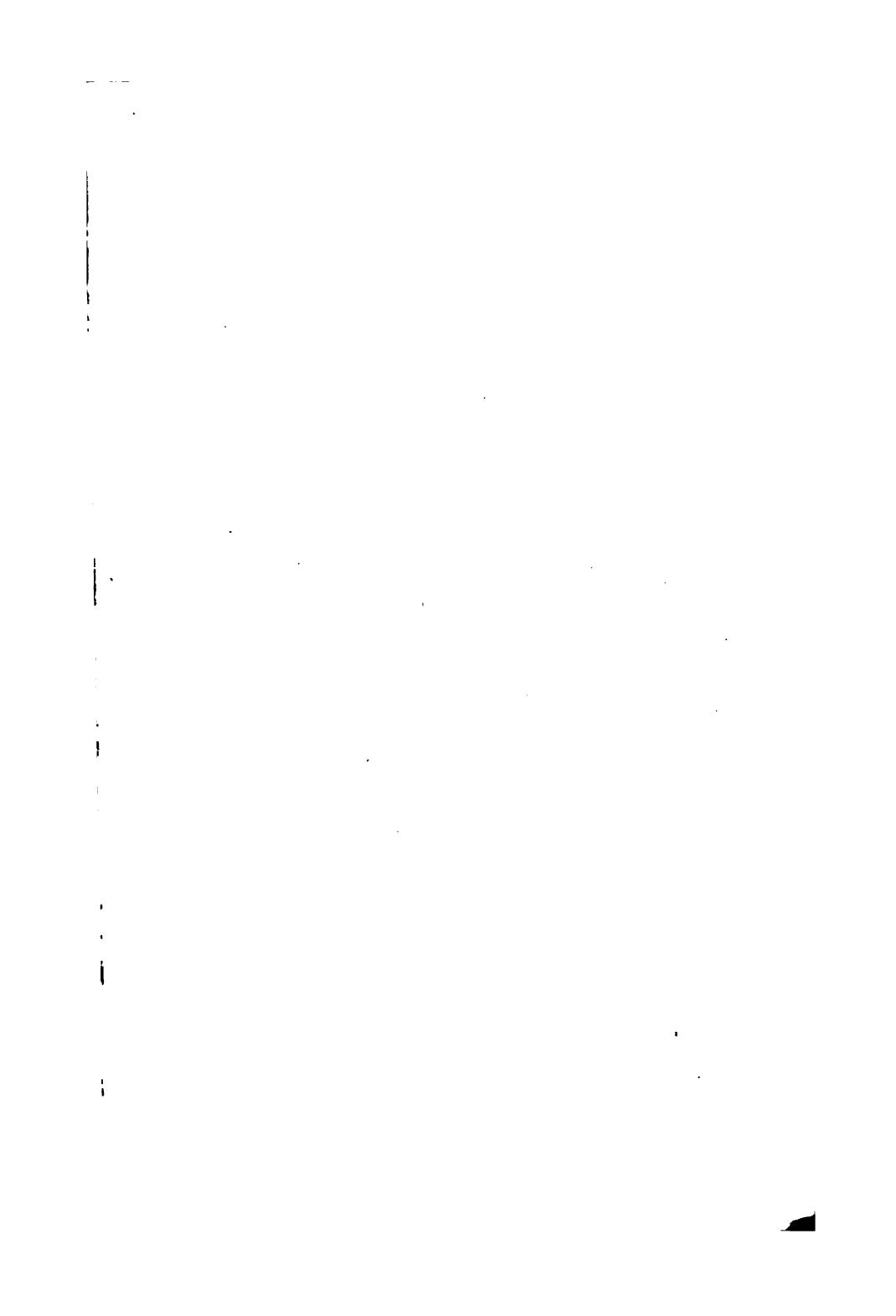




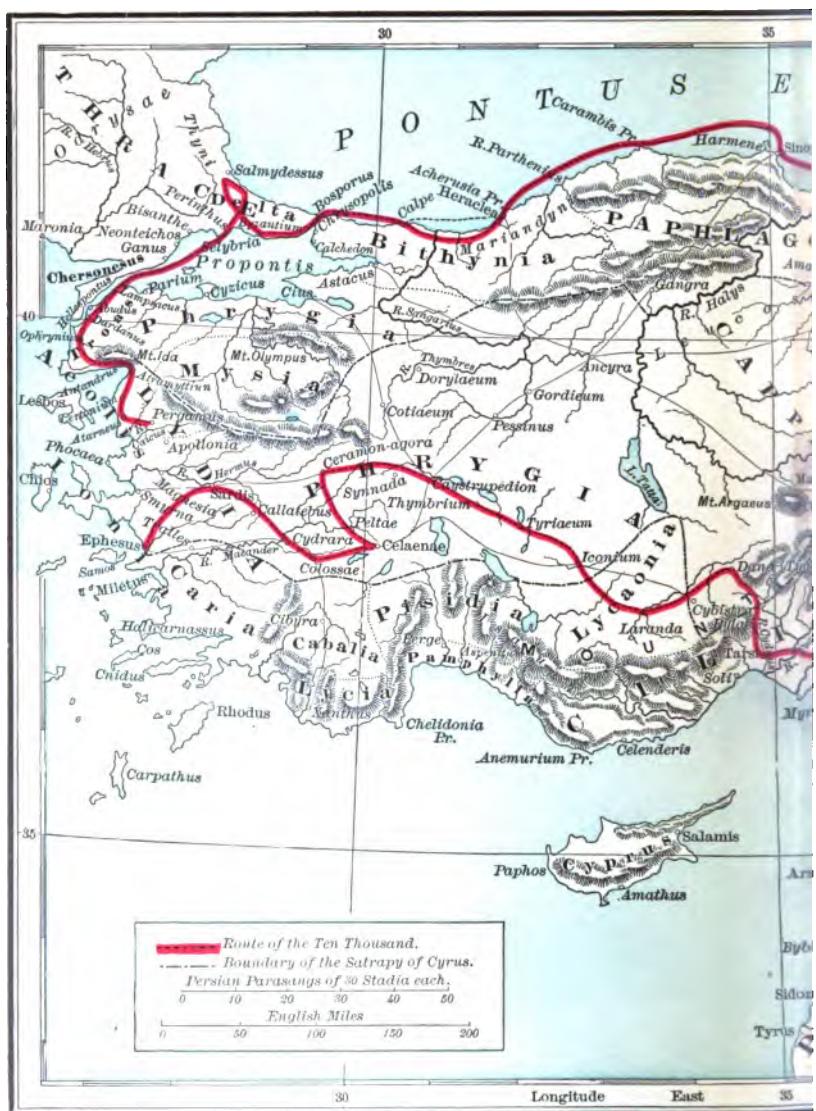




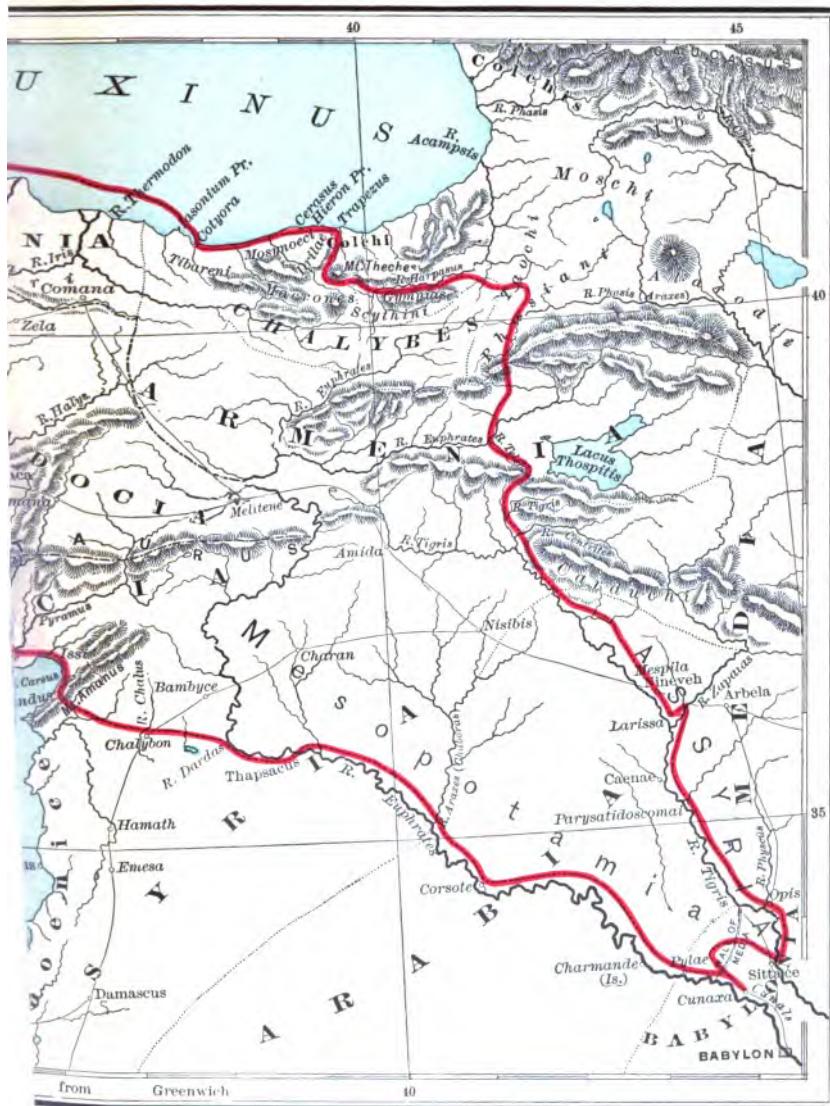


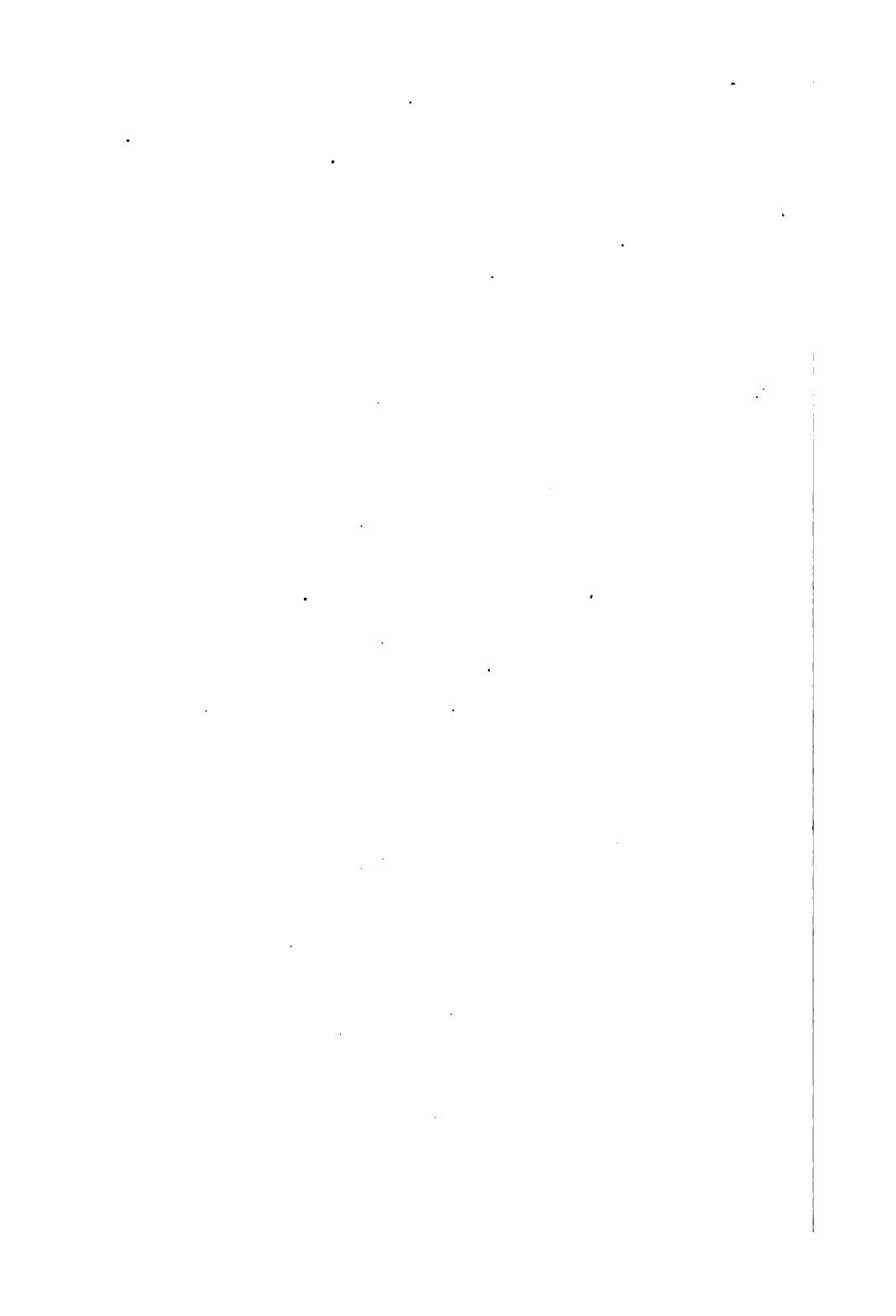


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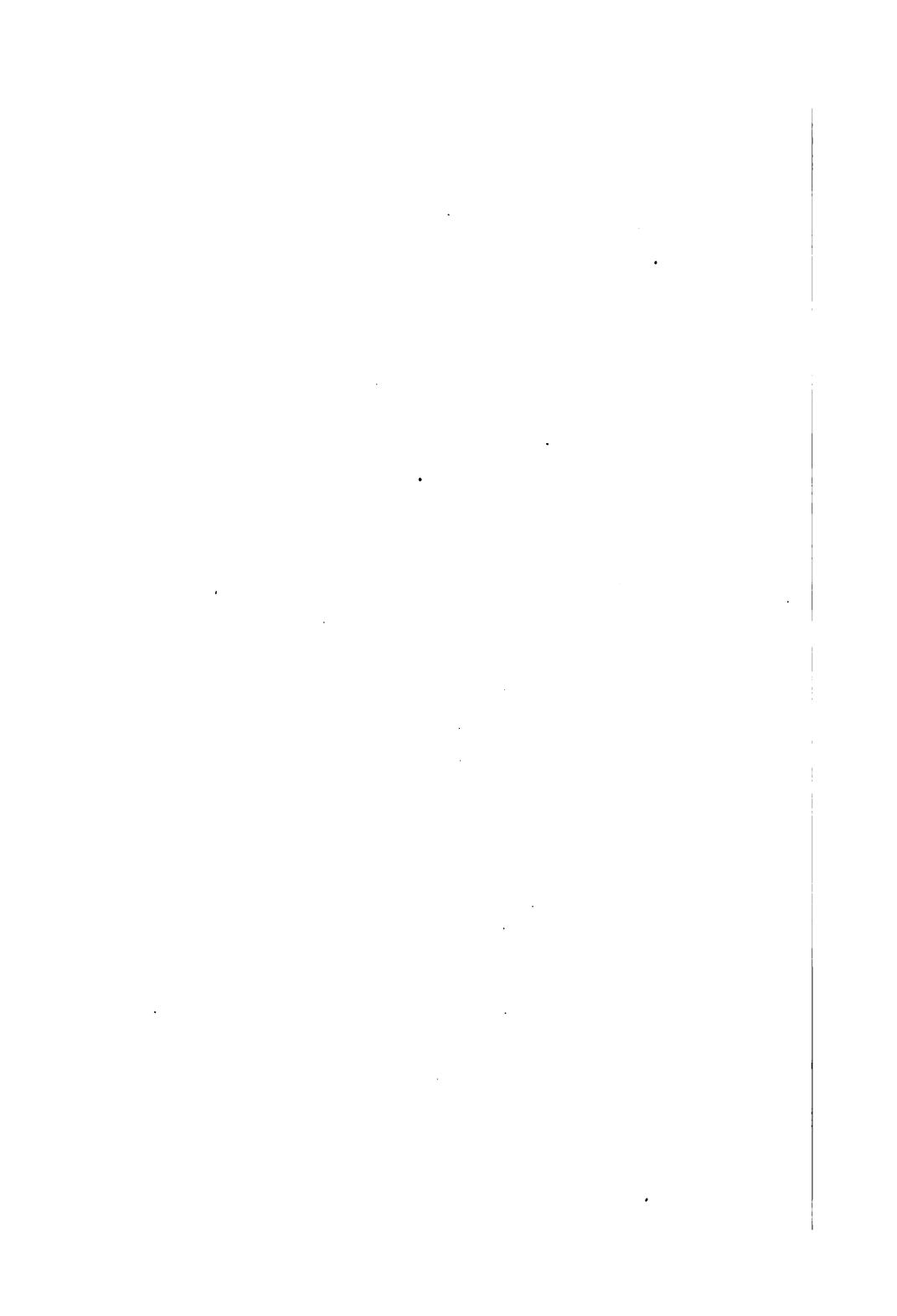
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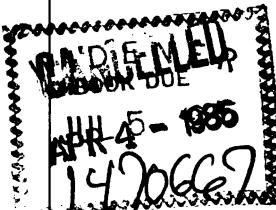




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